

100 more troops for Ulster as strike takes stranglehold

Hundred extra troops were flown to Northern Ireland last night as the Government refused to promise with organizers of the strike that it was lysing the province.

ence erupted in Belfast, where all factories closed and few shops were open.

power-sharing Executive showed itself led on the question of a deal with the Ulster kars' Council. In the Commons Mr Orme anced the council (report, page 2).

gns of division in ulkner Executive

Robert Fisk

British Government's refusal to compromise the "loyalist" who have set all of Northern d's industrial and con- al life was reinforced last when 500 extra soldiers flown into the province their base in England.

alling to give way to the 'demands for fresh elec- a Ulster and to the gangs lists who went on a run- hijacking and barricade- in Belfast yesterday, es, Secretary of State for vince, seems determined the risk of a clash in the between Protestants and soldiers.

a measure of how serious uation has become that ight many people in n Ireland, deprived of bs and their livelihood, nning their hopes for a to normalcy upon a -week's means to trade s this morning. Through- e day not, one factory was ing in Belfast, scarcely hope were open, and in parts of the province food l were scarce.

re were reports that the 's Executive was of at about 50,000 in r (one of the ministers g Mr Rees to talk to them) cylist politicians, both a minister and in Ulster, co- to blame the Government e crisis.

police said last night that roadblocks and barricades being dismantled, appen- tarily, and that hijacked and hater were being ed to their owners.

Ulster Workers' Council hat it had not been its ion to build barricades, a text almost identical to: made when widespread ng took place last week- ewe around Belfast dur- e day, was an eerie and ing experience. Gangs estants, some masked and carrying cudgels and roamed the main roads he city, stealing cars, guns and even a crane setting them on fire.

yelled abuse from behind ering barricades at the deserted streets, and the ple who had tried to the "loyalists" "consti- tution" thought better judgment and returned r candlelit homes.

air of unreality was inten- y raised a finger to pre- barricades from being toryists, vainly trying to he city, were repeatedly

Geneva bank robbers hold men clerks hostage

hur Correspondent

May 20

women clerks were held hostage in a small office of a Geneva bank by two young gunmen in the building, when arrived.

other men escaped in a car after some shooting a policeman was hit in gh. The car was later abandoned with one of is heavily blood-stained, of the two hostages, a v of 60, had returned v from sick leave after from the shock of nvolvement in a holdup at branch of the same bank telephones at the bank ed to function through a police perhaps hoping accomplice might ring m-and reporters were talk to both the gunmen hostages.

One of the robbers speaking French with what seemed to be a Marseilles accent and ap- pecting to be Italian, said they were not giving themselves up because they thought they had a chance of getting away.

After negotiations, a car was parked near the bank door by police, but the agreed deadline passed without any movement. The gunmen seemed to be waiting for a deadline to be set- ing.

The younger hostage told re- porters over the telephone that the robbers had treated them well, but it is frightening because we do not know what is going to happen.

Food and coffee were taken to the bank by a policeman. The gunmen insisted that he took his trousers off before he ap- proached the door.

Photographs, page 5.

ge orders ident to over tapes

ington, May 20.—Judge rica today ordered that of Nixon turn over the t 64 conversations had by the Watergate prosecutor, Mr Leon d, by May 31.

Sirica said he would s decision if the Presi- ayers appealed against ision, as expected.

apes are being sought by ord as evidence for the at cover-up conspiracy.

sher Goldwater attacked, page 6.

Decision on Maalot split Israel leaders

From Eric Marsden
Jerusalem, May 20

Mrs Golda Meir and Mr Moshe Dayan disagreed over the decision to release 20 convicted prisoners last week, an attempt to save the 10 children and 10 adults held hostage in Maalot school.

This was disclosed in the Knesset today when the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister gave what may prove to be the saddest farewells heard in Israel's Parliament. Both are due to leave office when Mr Yitzhak Rabin forms the new Government and Mrs Meir is retiring from political life.

Mr Dayan's speech was tinged with bitterness; he prefaced it by saying: "This may be the 'blunder government' and the Defence Minister may be a failure, but I do not care." He had opposed the decision to free the prisoners, he said, and was against setting up an inquiry into the tragedy. "I do not share the public enthusiasm for inquiries," he said. "In seven years in the Government, I have never agreed to give back a single terrorist."

It was true that they did not want to fight, "on the backs of our children," he pointed out that the gang which seized the children had already murdered three members of a young family.

"We must kill them and not free anybody," Mr Dayan said. "The only way to defeat them in the terror war is to kill them." Authorities in Britain or West Germany might agree to free terrorists, because they were dealing with a one-time thing, but Israel could not afford to do so.

Mr Dayan, who was in charge of negotiations with the terrorists at Maalot, was not at the Cabinet meeting which took the decision to free the prisoners, but after it was made he flew to Jerusalem to meet Mrs Meir. The release was not carried out, apparently because of confusion over the code words "Al Aqsa" which were supposed to have been sent to the French and Romanian ambassadors who were acting as intermediaries.

Mr Dayan was heckled continuously in the Knesset by Mr Menachem Begin, the Opposition leader, but he told him: "Shut up, Mr Begin. I am in no mood for argument."

Mrs Meir, in tears at the beginning of her speech, listed terrorist attacks since 1958 and said: "Now they have added the blood of innocent children. This is the reply of Jewish terrorism to go on our residents. We must improve our anti-terrorist actions and try to fit them wherever they are."

She announced that the government committee of inquiry into the school killings would be headed by Reserve General Amos Harel, president of the Technion-Israel Institute of Technology at Haifa, assisted by two leading lawyers.

Defending the initial government decision to free the 20 men, she said: "We agreed to this with a heavy heart. The decision was broadcast so that the terrorists in the school could hear it. The three terrorists at the top of the list were taken to Maalot and tried in vain to make contact with the gang."

Mrs Meir described the long wait for the code words to be sent to the French and Romanian ambassadors and the final receipt of the terms. "I would be given only after the prisoners had arrived in Damascus and that 50 children would have to go with them."

"None of the Cabinet would agree to that horrible proposal," she said.

The Government had tried to make contact with the Syrian army to allow the air- craft to land in Damascus. The Syrians were also asked by the to contact the guerrillas' organization to request a delay in the deadline set by the gang for blowing up the school.

"All the signs pointed to their blowing it up at 5 pm with the children inside," Mrs Meir said. When the Government was convinced there was no hope of agreement, it ordered Mr Dayan and General Mordechai Gur, the Chief of Staff, to send the troops in. "The Government's hesitation was hard and long, but we could not sit by and let them blow up the building," she said.

"Terror has accompanied our lives at all times. Their actions are becoming more cruel. The terrorists wanted to destroy the Jewish state."

"We must hit them in a deadly way wherever we can," she said. "One action is not enough. We must not let terrorists run wild and destroy us." One of their aims was "sowing discord among our Arab citizens."

Mr Begin described Arab terrorists as "the new Nazis" who made children their targets.

Knesset agreement near, page 6.

M Giscard promises an 'open, modern style government' to take over next week

From Charles Hargrove
Paris, May 20

The very small majority to which M Giscard d'Estaing owes his election yesterday as the third President of the Fifth Republic is both a challenge and an opportunity.

It is a challenge because he must keep his own disparate majority united and prevent the disappointment of the left from turning into bitterness and despair.

At the same time, it is an opportunity because the narrowness of his victory should enable him to impose on what some commentators call "the coalition of fear" around him those reforms it would not otherwise have accepted.

The left came within an ace of winning. The conservative forces in France have felt the whiff of a revolution. The new majority will not want to risk a dissolution and new parliamentary elections which would lose what it saved yesterday.

Besides, the huge turnout of voters gives M Giscard d'Estaing a correspondingly "great authority." He himself referred to the "spontaneous and popular current" which had carried him along and wanted "political, economic and social change."

"You will not be disappointed," he said. He knows he cannot afford to disappoint it.

For the present, M Giscard d'Estaing has given himself a few days for rest and reflection, which he feels France needs too after seven weeks of a hectic election campaign. Then the new government will get down to work without delay.

After a call at the Elysée Palace this morning on M Alain Pothier, who remains in charge until the new President is officially declared, elected by the Constitutional Council, probably on Friday, M Giscard d'Estaing said it was most important that the new team should go into action quickly.

That is why he will formally take office next Monday, appoint his Prime Minister on Tuesday, and then the Government will meet with himself in the chair at the Elysée Palace on Wednesday.

"I mean to give France a new political style which is more adapted to our age and to our young, open, direct, modern style," he said. This will be apparent both in the Government and in its relations with the Opposition. He set the tone last night when he sent his



M Giscard d'Estaing faces a crowd of reporters outside the Elysée Palace yesterday.

"very cordial greetings" to his opponent, and said M Mitterrand had "a part to play in the present and future of French politics." He is also reported to have invited M Mitterrand to lunch with him.

This almost British conception of cooperation between Government and Opposition is a revolutionary innovation in a country where, for 15 years, dominant Gaullism relegated the left to a kind of political outer darkness.

There is alive with rumours about the composition of the new Government. M Giscard d'Estaing has given no hint about who will be Prime Minister, except that he will not be a

member of his own party, the Independent Republicans.

The choice may be a non-party man, a technician like M Pompidou who was lifted out of obscurity by General de Gaulle and put in charge in 1962.

The name of M Michel Jobert, who has never belonged to any party, has been mentioned, along with that of M Couve de Murville for the Finance Ministry, and M Olivier Guichard for foreign affairs. M Jacques Delors has mentioned a possible Minister of Labour.

In fact, all this is largely guesswork. What is certain is that M Giscard d'Estaing's first Government will be smaller than the last Messmer Government, itself

more concentrated than its predecessor.

M Giscard d'Estaing also intends to reduce the size of the President's personal staff, which, especially under M Pompidou, became a kind of all-powerful shadow government, duplicating on a minor scale all the main departments of state.

Protocol is a relatively minor matter, but it will also feel the touch of the new broom. Here, too, M Giscard d'Estaing means to innovate. He arrived at the Elysée this morning at the wheel of his own car.

He has said he would not let himself be shut up in the presidential palace, but would go out for a walk in the streets if he felt

Continued on page 5, col 2

Mr Wilson persuades nurses to wait

By John Roper
Medical Reporter

Nurses got no firm reply to their claim for an immediate pay rise and an independent inquiry into salary scales and conditions when their leaders met the Prime Minister last night.

Their impression was that they will have to wait at least a week and probably until Mrs Castle, Secretary of State for Social Services, fulfils her pledge to see the staff side of the Whitley Council in a fortnight's time.

In political circles, on the other hand, it was felt that the Government's decision might be made known during the debate on National Health Service pay, which the Opposition is to initiate in the Commons on Thursday.

After the meeting it was clear that large-scale strike action, threatened by the Confederation of Health Service Employees, would be put off until the Government's decision is known.

Mr Wilson promised that the reply would be given as soon as possible.

Mr Albert Spenswick, general secretary-elect of the confederation, said they would go on with the campaign, but "it is right and proper to wait for a reply before doing anything drastic."

Nothing would be done to stop members from strike action, he said, but it would be irresponsible to engage in official action of a serious type. They would give the Government a chance to make special provision for nurses.

Representatives of the 12 nursing organizations saw Mr Wilson, Mrs Castle and Mr Foot, Secretary of State for Employment, for about an hour.

Mr William Griffiths, chairman of the staff side of the Nurses' and Midwives' Whitley Council, said: "I told the Prime Minister that I had not come into the room wearing a gun. We did not use threats of any kind."

Mr Wilson, he said, assured the delegation that urgent consideration would be given to their case. The Prime Minister gave no hint of any cash on the table, but said he was as anxious as the nurses to find a solution. He would ask the staff side

Overseas cabin staffs end £6m air strike

By Arthur Reed
Air Correspondent

Stewards and stewardesses of the overseas division of British Airways are to end their 15-day strike, which has crippled the airline and cost a total of £6m.

They are expected to return to work from midnight tonight, but it may be another week before all services return to normal. Three airlines are to leave London tomorrow with cabin crews for Delhi, Bombay and New York, the first flights with passengers will resume on Thursday.

British Airways said last night that it will operate flights on Thursday to New York, Sydney, Johannesburg, Tokyo and Hong Kong, but that it will be Sunday before a normal schedule is possible.

The end of the unofficial strike, in which 2,000 cabin staff have been involved, came last evening at a mass meeting in a west London ballroom.

An improved offer on hours and duty was made last week by the management. The main points were the offer of a 50 per cent increase in the daily overseas allowance from April 1 and a reduction from 17 to 15 hours in the maximum duty periods.

A suggestion by the management that there should be a joint working party sitting under an independent chairman to go into the whole question of cabin staff duties was also accepted by the stewards and stewardesses.

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Rough Day?

Have a little smoothness tonight.

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DEWAR & SONS LTD
PERTH SCOTLAND

Blended for smoothness—it never varies.

Warning of rise next year in postal charges

By Malcolm Brown
Business News Staff

A further increase in postal and telephone tariffs is almost certain next year, it would be in addition to the increase due to be introduced in June, provided the Price Commission approves.

Sir William Ryland, chairman of the Post Office, speaking in Glasgow yesterday, said that with continuing inflation it would be a "reasonable expectation" that the June increase would be followed by a further rise next year.

It is proposed that postal charges should be increased next month to 44p for first-class and

34p for second-class mail. Higher telephone charges are also proposed.

The possibility of further increases next year will be deeply worrying for the Post Office board. Some of its members fear that in the mail service any increases are bound to have a severe effect on demand.

The corporation's losses for 1973-74 are not yet known, but it is widely expected that they will exceed £100m, probably by a significant margin. The implication is that without the June increase, which he said would still leave a loss of about

£65m, the 1974-75 loss would be more than £300m.

Sir William emphasized that no application had been made for a further increase next year. "I am looking forward and making some intelligent guesses. We can all see what has happened to costs."

Referring to the expected £65m loss next year, Sir William said: "There is still that to be covered. There are still the prospects of inflation. Whatever these may be. There is still something to be done, over and above that, to try to get the pay situation right, so that we can

give people a fair deal and give the customers a fair service."

The next normal round of wage and salary increases for Post Office workers was due on January 1 next, Sir William said. He had promised special pay reviews covering most of the 425,000 workers.

"What we are arguing for is that there should be a special increase, a catching up increase, as well," Sir William said, "and if so, when it will be possible, will depend entirely on the Government's incomes policy. All I am saying is that there are strong grounds for an increase."

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HOME NEWS

Mr Orme wins Opposition support in denunciation of action by 'unrepresentative' Ulster Workers' Council

By Hugh Noyes
Parliamentary Correspondent
Westminster

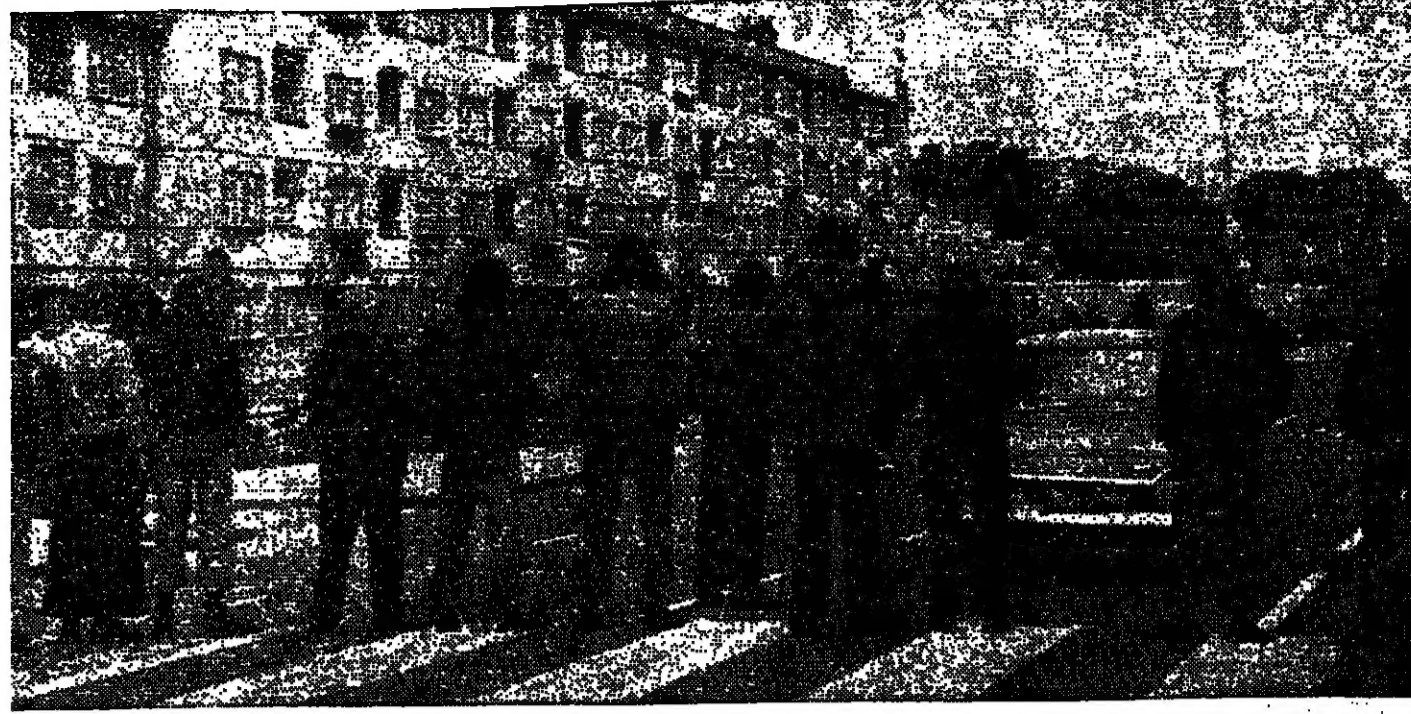
Mr Orme, Minister of State for Northern Ireland, in the Commons yesterday denounced the Ulster Workers' Council as having no democratic or trade union standing. He said the Government still did not know many of those who were active within it but some of those it did know about should not have been connected with such a body.

Mr Orme, who given the full backing of the Opposition for his determined support of the Constitution Act and for his resolve not to be blackmailed, said the council had told him that its purpose was to bring down the Sunningdale agreement and to force new Assembly elections at an early date. It intended to achieve that by a political strike, limiting the supply of electricity and by dictating who should have it and who should not.

But Mr Orme told the House that the Government would not negotiate with the council. What it was asking for was "non-negotiable". Behind the people in Ulster who were wearing masks and carrying clubs at the moment, were guns which could be used in the very near future.

Both Mr Orme and Mr Pym, from the Conservative front bench, left MPs in no doubt about the gravity of the situation. Mr Pym said it was an attempt at disruption by a group of people, unselected and unrepresentative, using intimidation to force workers to stay home.

Both agreed that the disruption was based on the misrepresentation of the Sunningdale communiqué, which protected the province's majority and minority communities in every aspect of policy and made no threat to force them into a united Ireland.



Belfast street scene yesterday: supporters of the Ulster Workers' Council forming a barrier across Shore Road to stop traffic.

The minister made it clear that troops would be moved into the power stations if necessary to maintain essential services: they were already in a position to do that. He said Mr Mason and Secretary of State for Defence, Mr Rees had already taken steps to see that suitable technicians were available.

While the Conservative and Liberal Parties stood firmly behind the Government, however, Mr Orme got little encouragement from Northern Ireland MPs Captain Orr, Downing, South, one of the leading members of the United Ulster Unionist Coalition, urged more flexibility with recourse to the ballot box, and denied that the

Sunningdale agreement was being misrepresented.

The Rev Robert Bradford, Belfast, South, said Assembly elections were the only means of averting a civil war in which the Army would be opposed to the Protestants. Mr Orme retorted that the Ulster Workers' Council was at present giving the greatest succour to the IRA. He wished Mr Bradford would condemn intimidation and the paramilitary forces at work instead of putting forward the view of the UUC.

Earlier, Mr Jenkins, Home Secretary, in a statement on bomb incidents in London at the weekend, said it would be prudent to assume that the country had not seen the last of the bombings. A high level of vigilance must be maintained; the public could make a vital contribution by informing the police at once of any suspicious activities.

Clive Borrell writes: Bomb squad detectives were still at Heathrow airport last night checking and tightening security precautions after the explosion of a 100lb gelignite car-bomb in a parking area at the weekend.

The squad, under Detective Chief Superintendent James Neville, carried out a minute examination of all potential terrorist target areas while other officers made spot-checks on vehicles entering and leaving the airport.

Scotland Yard said last night: "We urge the public not to relax their vigilance. Anything suspicious should be isolated immediately and the police called."

Insurance anomaly: The owners of the 40 cars damaged by the Heathrow explosion would have been better off if their vehicles had been blown up in Northern Ireland (the Press Association reports).

In Ulster owners so affected can claim compensation from the Northern Ireland Office under the Criminal Injuries to Property Act. But there is no similar act in Britain.

The British Insurance Association said yesterday that the owners of the damaged Heathrow cars would have to claim from their insurance companies. Although the damage was not their fault, they would lose their no-claims bonus.

British Ambassador called to meet minister as concern in Dublin mounts

From Stewart Tandler
Dublin

Dr Garret FitzGerald, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Ireland, yesterday met Sir Arthur Geismar, the British Ambassador, to discuss the events in Northern Ireland and a possible check on developments in the province.

Today the Irish Cabinet will hold its weekly meeting and Northern Ireland will be high on the agenda but there has been no official comment or response so far.

It is understood that the Irish Government views the situation as extremely grave and is anxious that there should be no backing down by Mr Faulkner, Northern Ireland's Chief Executive, or by Britain.

Comments by Mr Roy Bradford, the province's Minister of the Environment, suggesting that there should be talks with "loyalists" were received with anger in Dublin. Government circles feel that the comment was made by someone aware of its effect in the Republic and Mr Bradford has been accused of trying to usurp Mr Faulkner's leadership.

Hope is placed on the plan by Northern Ireland trade unionists to return to work and that the loyalists will stand down.

Agreement to the loyalist call for an autumn election was regarded by one Government official as almost a declaration of civil war because it would encourage the IRA and a suspicion that Britain was not fully supporting the Sunningdale agreement.

Dr FitzGerald is understood to have expressed concern to the British Ambassador at recent press comments by Mr William Cosgrave, Mr Samuel Smyth, political adviser to the UDA, on their response to shootings in the north and Friday's car bombs. The Dublin Government is worried that the statements might be incitement.

The final preparations for the publication of the report on common enforcement of the law were also discussed in the hour-long meeting. The report is expected to appear on Thursday.

Mr Cosgrave, the Dublin Prime Minister, has not talked personally to Mr Wilson but he did discuss events and the bombings on Friday with Mr Faulkner. There has been no further communication.

Signs of division within Mr Faulkner's administration

Continued from page 1

Two stolen and a policeman had to fire a shot in the air when he and two other officers were cornered by more than 50 young Protestants.

The period of anarchy was further extended when milk floats and food lorries were hijacked and set on fire, in spite of the instructions of the Ulster Workers' Council, which is running a strike in protest against the Sunningdale agreement.

Near Sandycrow I saw children and several middle-aged women looting a stolen milk lorry. In another part of Belfast gangs of youths invaded a milk distribution centre, smashed 40 crates, and sold the rest at 5p a pint to local people.

Shopkeepers, even in the centre of the city, were "asked" to close by well-dressed young men who gave the impression that they would pay a return visit if the blinds were not pulled down.

The Government evidently intends that the Protestant community as a whole should make up its mind about the strike by the weekend, which the council when it has seen its food supplies cut, transport gone, and the electricity supply almost closed.

Only a third of normal power was generated during the day, and the province, for the third day in succession, endured cuts, each of up to eight hours.

The power supply had become so critical by last night that the Post Office asked subscribers to use their telephones only in emergency. Telephone services, including subscriber trunk dialling, may collapse within the next 24 hours unless the power supply is increased.

The political axe-men laid their whole day, Mr Rees held two meetings at St. Vincent's Castle with General Sir Frank King, the GOC, and Mr James Flanagan, the chief constable. The Executive, under Mr Brian Faulkner, met for well over three hours.

Mr Rees also had two meetings with Mr Len Murray, the TUC general secretary, who may lead the trade unions' marches through east Belfast this morning in an attempt to

get workers back to their factories and shops.

Mr Murray apparently has no intention of mediating between the Government and the workers' council, which he regards as undemocratic and unrepresentative.

Mr Rees spent lunchtime talking with Mr Faulkner and Mr Gerard Pitt, his Social Democratic and Labour Party deputy, after addressing the full Executive in the morning.

There are signs that the members of the province's power-sharing administration are arguing among themselves about the strike. On Sunday night, Mr Roy Bradford, Minister of the Environment, said he believed that the Secretary of State should reopen "lines of communication with the strikers."

Mr Bradford's point, which he has made several times in the past—to the concern of his fellow ministers—is that the Sunningdale agreement, to which the strikers are objecting, cannot be implemented in full while so many Protestants are opposed to it.

He believes that it should be put forward in stages so that the Government could see on whether they wish the original Sunningdale communiqué to be fulfilled.

That has embarrassed Mr Faulkner as much as it has the SDLP, but for different reasons. The Government has repeatedly been hammering home its demand that no one in authority should talk to the strikers, a view he shares with Mr Rees.

The Vanguard Party, of course, accuses Mr Rees of stubbornness and Mr William Craig, the party's leader, said yesterday that the Secretary of State was responsible for the war he called "a very grim situation."

Mr Faulkner's backbenchers tried to lessen some of the tension in the evening by arguing that last week's vote in the Assembly, which proposed the strike, was not a vote in favour of signing the Sunningdale agreement. The amendment simply negated a motion by the loyalists in the Assembly rejecting Sunningdale.

Government accused on attitude to women

By Our Political Staff

Mr Heath last night at the Government of an anti-attitude towards women, status and opportunity. Mr Heath, speaking in London, said that in just three and a half years the servative Government more rapid progress women's rights than a previous time in British history.

"Now a question must be asked: where were we in the changes that were being made? Where were we in forward they are hanging the Leader of the Opposition."

"For example, what is the future of the sex scheme; the most important scheme ever produced in benefit of women and families, particularly the well off? Do they intend ahead with the equal opportunities commission, a large proposal for ending discrimination on grounds of sex in employment, education and training?"

"In changing outdate ideas and correcting anomalies in the whole of women's rights, as in so other areas ours was a gr forming. Administration must get back on to that: the earliest opportunity."

Mr Eldon Griffiths, Opposition spokesman on affairs, yesterday suggested Mr Rees, Secretary of State for Industry, seemed "almost berately calculated to p the uncertainty of thousands of firms threatened with 'closure'."

In a statement issued in London, Mr Griffiths observed that the Government could agree that there was to improve its structure, management and labour relations, as opposed to Mr Heath's imagination, ver private enterprise, extend subsidies to small businesses, and so on.

Since 1970, results of the main national industries provided a lame record and no recommendation whatever for expanding ownership.

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Belfast trade unions call march to work

From a Staff Reporter
Belfast

Northern Ireland's trade unions, which have been so fulsomely praised in the past for their attempts to smother sectarianism in the industrial life of the province, are likely to face their greatest test of influence this morning outside one of Belfast's bomb-battered railway stations on the docks. For at 6.45 am trade unionists from the shipyards and aircraft factories in the east of the city have been asked to gather at Queen's Quay under the shadow of the Harland and Wolff cranes and derricks to march to work in defiance of the five-day-old "loyalist" strike.

Even if there is no electric power, in which case the shipyards will automatically stay idle, the unions intend to stage their parade through the streets and under the eyes of the Ulster Defence Association men on their barricades to show that, without fear of intimidation,

many people want to go back to their jobs. If they fail, then the trade unions in Northern Ireland are not going to be held in such quite high esteem over the coming months.

There are about 265,000 trade union members in Ulster, of whom more than three-quarters live in Belfast, a city in which intimidation has become endemic both on the shop floor and on the housing estates outside. From the very start of the civil unrest in 1968 shop stewards have addressed workers about the importance of keeping together as trade unionists without paying attention to the religion of their workmates.

In the shipyards, Mr Sandy Scott, chief shop steward, successfully, if only temporarily, kept the peace between the vast majority of Protestants and the 400 or so Roman Catholics who work together in east Belfast. His example was followed elsewhere.

In 1970, officials of the Tailors and Garment Workers' Union stood up to intimidation in the clothing factories in Northern Ireland. Mr Billy Wallace, local organiser of the union, told both the management and Protestant workers that Roman Catholic employees must have their jobs safeguarded.

Mr Hugh Murphy, chief shop steward in Short's aircraft factory, in Belfast, has also asked his members to protect each other, whatever their religion. Even that, however, did not stop the erection of small Union Jacks on some of the work benches, a sure sign to any Roman Catholic that the men there were Protestants.

The march today (another is planned to leave Caslereagh Road for the nearest industrial estate at the same time) is being organised by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions and it is to that body that many of the members of the Ulster Workers' Council,

the all-Protestant group that has called the strike, object. They say that the congress is too socialist and dedicated towards achieving a united Ireland, a belief that has led one Workers' Council spokesman to declare that anyone marching today "must be a United Ireland supporter or a communist."

The congress contains both Irish and British-based unions and has a Northern Ireland committee, a concession to the province's existence as a separate state. Whatever the Workers' Council says, the congress executives in Dublin seem to have little or no influence over the northern committee, and Mr William Bleasdale, northern regional officer, still apparently feels confident enough of his support to refer to the Workers' Council strike as "fascist, bully-boy tactics."

Eire car bomb death toll now 29

From Stewart Tandler
Dublin

The death toll in the car-bomb attacks in the Republic of Ireland rose yesterday to 29 when a woman injured in Dublin died in a city hospital. Her husband is still in hospital.

Such was the confusion that the police do not know in which street the woman, aged 53, received her injuries.

The announcement of the death, which takes Dublin's own total to 24 deaths, came as the first victims were being removed from the city's mortuary for burial.

It is now known that Dublin's deaths were caused by 300 lb of explosives, much of it an industrial type. The Irish Army's report shows that 50 lb was used in South Leinster Street, 100 lb in Parnell Street and 150 lb in Talbot Street.

By the end of the week Irish security forces along the border will number over 2,000 with the arrival of 300 troops from the Middle East tomorrow.

The intensification of security will put extra strain on the republic's army of 11,300. In the past year 5,600 soldiers took part in border duties as well as guarding prisons, public buildings and other duties.

Five men deny murder of Irish senator

Senator William ("Billy") Fox of the Republic of Ireland, was shot dead when he interrupted a gang raiding the home of his fiancée's family, it was stated at the Special Criminal Court in Dublin yesterday.

The prosecution alleged that five men accused of the senator's murder were part of a gang of at least 12 armed and masked men who raided the house at Clones, co Monaghan, on March 11.

Before the court were James Francis McPhillips, aged 26, Sean McGortigan, aged 19, George McDevotta, aged 20, and Sean Kinsella, aged 28, and his brother Michael, aged 24, all with addresses in the border town of Clones.

All five denied murdering Senator Fox, aged 33, a Protestant member of Fine Gael, the leading party in the Dublin coalition Government. They also denied setting fire to the house of Mr Richard Coulson and the caravan of his son, George Robert, at Clones with intent to injure them. They further pleaded not guilty to the illegal possession of firearms. Charges against them of being members of the IRA were adjourned.

Mr George Coulson said he was sitting with his wife in his caravan on the farm when three masked and armed men burst in.

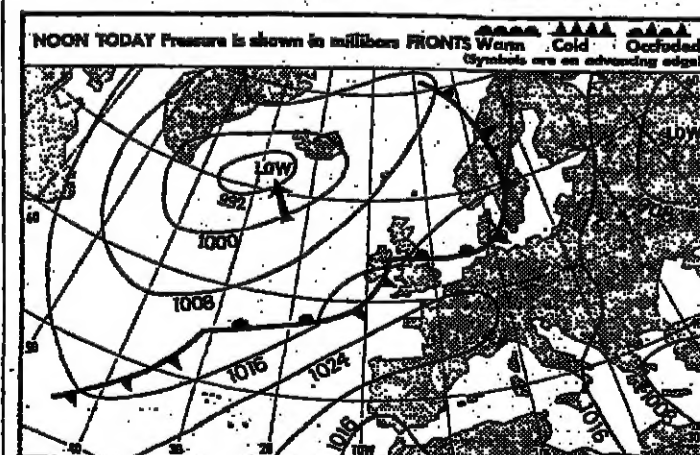
The men said they were looking for guns. He and his wife were taken at gunpoint to his father's farm, where they were pushed into a room. A little later a shot was heard.

The men then ran out of the front door. Later he heard eight to 10 shots coming from outside the farm.

The prosecution said Senator Fox's body, with gunshot wounds in the chest and foot, was found in a lane near the house.

The trial continues today.

Weather forecast and recordings



Today
Sun rises: 5.1 am Sun sets: 8.54 pm
Moon rises: 4.26 am Moon sets: 9.54 pm
New moon: 9.34 pm

Lighting up: 9.24 pm to 4.30 am.
High water: London Bridge, 1.49 am, 6.8m (22.3ft); 2.19 pm, 7.0m (22.9ft).
Avonmouth, 7.34 am, 12.7m (41.5ft); 7.54 pm, 13.0m (42.6ft).
Dover, 11.25 am, 6.2m (20.4ft).
Bull, 6.27 am, 6.5m (21.6ft); 6.43 pm, 7.0m (22.9ft).
Liverpool, 11.32 am, 8.5m (27.9ft); 11.55 pm, 8.6m (28.2ft).

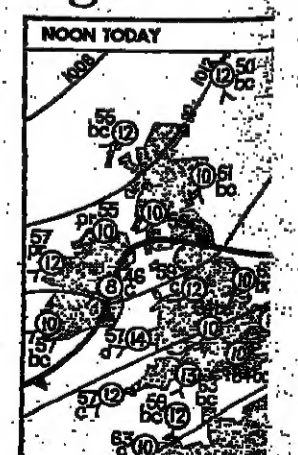
An anticyclone will persist to S of Britain, but troughs of low pressure will affect N areas.

Area forecasts:
London, East Angles, central S, SE England, Midlands, Channel Islands: Mostly dry, sunny spells; wind SW, light or moderate; max temp 19°C or 20°C (65°F to 68°F).
SW England, S Wales: Rather cloudy with coastal drizzle; wind SW, moderate or fresh; max temp 16°C (61°F).

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on attack
to work

HOME NEWS

Suspended jail term and £5,000 fine for former NCB chief

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Government action is urged to save NHS

By John Roper
Medical Reporter

The Government must mount an immediate rescue operation to save the National Health Service, Dr Derek Stevenson, secretary of the British Medical Association, said yesterday.

Dr Stevenson said that the Government was in a "very difficult position" and that it was "essential" that it should take "immediate action" to save the NHS.

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Three student nurses delivering a pipe of peace for Mr Wilson at 10 Downing Street in the hope of early agreement on nurses' pay.

There was a breakdown in morale and speedy action was needed if the shutting of units was to be avoided.

The country was approaching the position when, after years of make do and mend, the resources of the service were stretched to the limit. It was obvious that

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Inquiry into RSPCA asked to limit detail

Mr Charles Sparrow, QC, chairman of the independent inquiry into complaints against the RSPCA, said yesterday that the inquiry panel was concerned over a "curious" request from the society's chairman to keep detail to a minimum.

Mr Sparrow, speaking at the London inquiry as Mr John Hobhouse, chairman of the society, gave evidence, said he had received a letter from Mr Hobhouse just before the inquiry began.

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MP wants to see law chief over speeches

From Christopher Walker
Newcastle upon Tyne

The controversy over alleged local government corruption in the North-east deepened yesterday when Mr Edward Milne, Independent Labour MP for Blyth, demanded an urgent meeting with Mr Samuel Silkin, QC, the Attorney General.

At his home near Newcastle upon Tyne, Mr Milne said that he would be asking the Attorney General to study transcripts of two speeches made at Saturday's meeting of the Northern Regional Council of the Labour Party.

During the meeting leading party officials at national and regional level referred to the party's connection with Mr T. Dan Smith, who was jailed last month for corruption.

It was alleged that the party's local executive had direct contact with Mr Smith on three separate occasions, and that it had opposed his appointment as the Labour Party's public relations officer in the North-east at the 1964 and 1966 general elections.

Mr Milne said: "I have written to the Attorney General asking him to study the transcript of speeches made by Mr Reg Underhill, Labour's national agent, and Councillor Colin Gray, a leading member of the regional executive of the party."

Both men opposed a full inquiry into Labour Party affairs in the North-east, but it was later approved by a large majority.

Mr Milne said: "I feel that a study of the transcripts, particularly regarding the points dealing with Mr Smith's relationship with the Labour Party, could be of value to the police in their investigations."

Two police inquiries are continuing into corruption allegations covering councillors and other officials in many parts of the region.

One is headed by members of the Scotland Yard fraud squad, and is directed to evidence that emerged from the trials of Mr John Poulson. The other is being conducted by Northumbria police into alleged local authority malpractice in Chester-le-Street and Blyth.

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Vet sent false certificates to ministry

A veterinary surgeon who sent false rabies vaccination certificates to the Ministry of Agriculture was struck off the register by the Disciplinary Committee of the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons in London yesterday.

Mr James Lauder, aged 61, of New Priory Veterinary Hospital, Brighton, has 28 days to appeal.

He admitted sending the certificates for cats and dogs while he was controlling veterinary surgeon at Arden Grange International Quarantine and Boarding Kennels at Albourne, Sussex.

Mr Francis Aglionby, for Mr Lauder, said it was not suggested that he was trying to obtain money.

Mr Lauder said he had been working for the kennels for 10 years and had been a veterinary surgeon for 20 years.

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Teachers fear clever pupils may suffer

By Cameron
Times Educational Supplement

Teachers are worried that children may suffer because of the growing number of "day schools" that are "up-streaming," a report issued by the Assistant Masters' Association yesterday.

The report is based on a survey of 64 schools that have moved streaming and found that some teachers found their brighter pupils slipping when they put in mixed-ability classes.

They tended to become complacent and less motivated and in some cases showed signs of boredom.

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'Ecologist' men practising what they preach down on their farm in Cornwall

From a Staff Reporter
Wadebridge, Cornwall

Last year the men who run The Ecologist magazine left London and set up their headquarters in a beautiful Cornish village. Mr Peter Bunyard, joint editor, has exchanged London living for the life of a navy-journalist and a subsistence farmer.

He milks his cows and feeds the pigs before going to the office. Afterwards he grinds the corn, churns the butter, builds walls, fences and ditches.

His ideal is self-sufficiency, and he has gladly embraced the kind of nineteenth-century tool and technique that is hard labour, but he feels liberated by it.

One man's imprisonment is another's escape. There is no electricity or tractor or pesticide on his 20 acres. Nor will there be. And as soon as he has cleaned out a spring he will have the mains water cut off.

To a large extent he is practising what is preached in The Ecologist, the self-described "journal of the post-industrial age," and his new way of life fits in with the philosophy expressed in the magazine's controversial Blueprint for Survival.

Warning about the dangers of uncontrolled industrial growth, which was published two years ago, it is also easier, no doubt, to talk about the simple life and the destruction of ecosystems, of pollution and industrial greed, with a tractor, rather than a Martini, in your hand.

Mr Bunyard is a former biologist, now 32. He says he has created for himself and his wife and two children a more worthwhile life.

Until the mid-1960s London was a fine city offering a good life. But pollution, property development and destruction of buildings have spoiled it. I used to cycle to work from Kenning Town, but the traffic fumes got worse and the bulldozers pulled up the green spaces and buildings. I began to see London as a dirty place with unwashed streets, becoming increasingly decadent.

scorn what I am doing on my farm, but many local people are friendly and interested. Some of them take pleasure in the fact that we have gone back to old-fashioned ways, like using a horse and not a tractor.

The Ecologist, which sells about 10,000 copies a month, is now published from a house in Wadebridge, owned by Mr Edward Goldsmith, the magazine's publisher, who has also bought a farm in Cornwall. Downstairs is an Ecologist offshoot: a company making non-polluting gadgets such as solar energy panels, earth bricks and fireless ovens.

Mr Bunyard said: "I do not like to say it, but on the whole ours is a pessimistic magazine. The problems created by the philosophy of economic expansion at all costs and limited development are not difficult to see. There is long-term damage to the environment, the breakdown or destruction of society, the upsetting of nature by chemicals."

Our theme is that if the world pursues this kind of growth the problems will become insuperable. But many people want growth, and the third world in particular wants industrialization. You cannot say that they should leave well alone. That is the dilemma."

Mr Bunyard's farm was developed when he bought it, and the bathroom is still a joke, being open to the elements. The restoration work is a huge task and he cannot do it all himself. He has the help of a young craftsman and of a trickle of young people who come to stay, to sample the simple life for a week or two. In exchange for their labour they get meals.

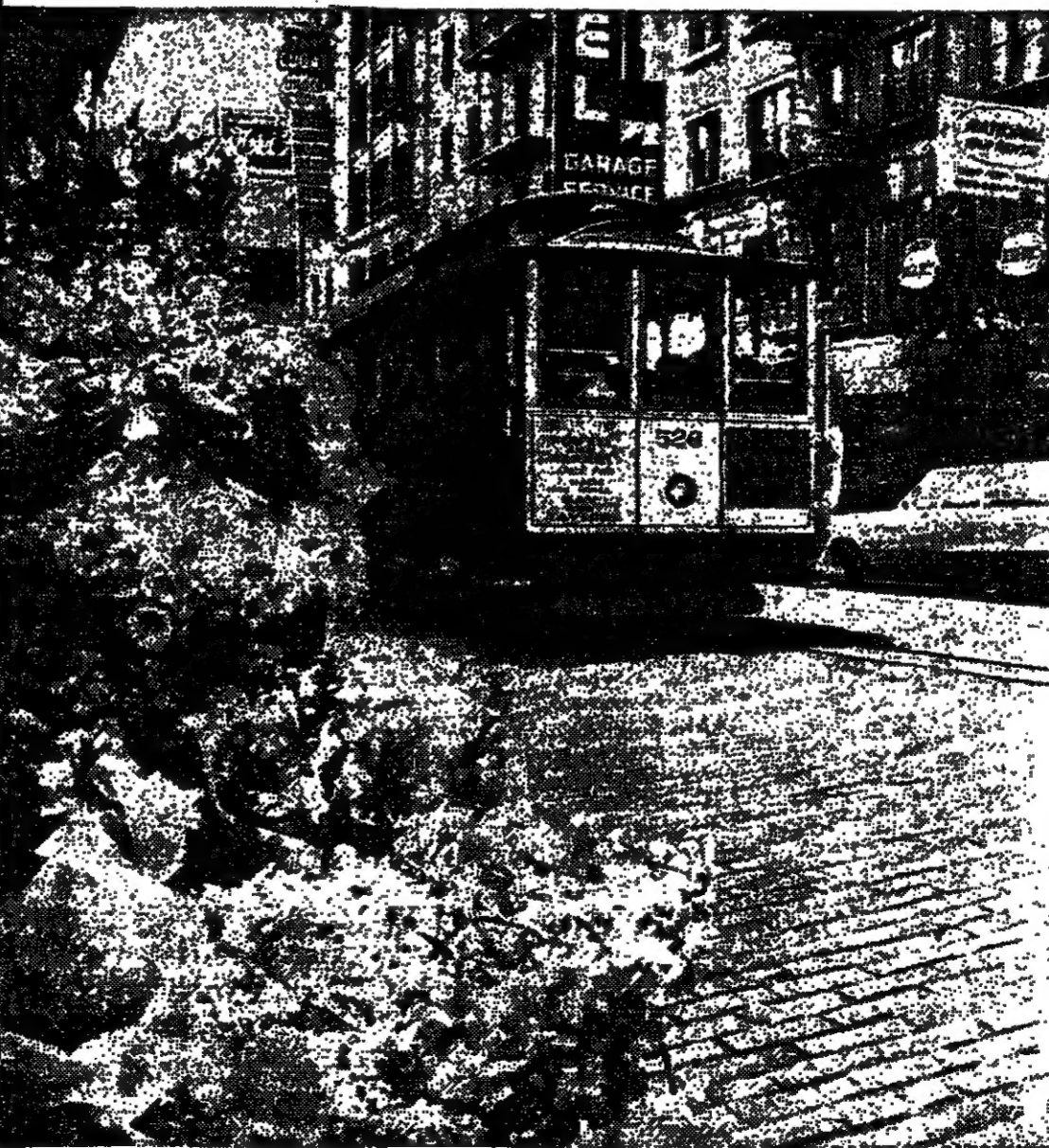
"I learn by experience," Mr Bunyard said. "Last year I did not grow enough vegetables or hay or winter feed for the animals. But I am learning. I waste neither land nor materials. I have drained a marsh which will now be planted with timber, and willies have been planted to make hurdles. We have re-established an orchard and fruit garden. We produce our own meat, bread, butter, cheese and eggs. We shall have beehives. There is an old water mill which we will restore, and we shall build a new wheel to power grindstones and a lathe."

The house will take years of work. It is at least 200 years old and I am repairing it with traditional stone and mud. Our only imported entertainment is a good radio.

"Some of us on The Ecologist were determined to leave London, and we would have left with or without the magazine. In any case, it seemed incongruous to run it from central London. I do not feel that I am opting out. I recognize that complete self-sufficiency is a myth in our society, and that if everyone tried to do as we have there would be chaos."

Maybe people engaged in intensive food production would

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HOME NEWS

End of jail sentences for the young urged in report by Home Office advisory council

By Peter Evans

Home Affairs Correspondent

Much more treatment of young adult offenders in the community is proposed in a report published today by the Home Secretary's Advisory Council on the Penal System.

After reviewing the treatment of young offenders aged 17 to 21, the council recommends the abolition of the present custodial sentences of imprisonment, borstal training and reference to detention centres. Instead, there would be a new form of custodial sentence, the Custody and Control Order, with the three types of establishments merged to handle it.

The report also proposes a stronger non-custodial sentence for young adults not at present sentenced in the community. This would be the Supervision and Control Order, enforced by the probation and after-care service.

Although every member of the council signed the main report, there are reservations and dissent by some of them on specific points about the best way of implementing the broad general aim.

Many probation officers have expressed misgivings about some of the contents of the report, "leaked" before publication. They have expressed fears that some proposals could make them more like mobile prison officers. Today Mr Jenkins, Home Secretary, will be giving his first response to the report and announcing arrangements for consultation about it.

The council in its report recognizes the growing awareness of the difficulties in preparing

young adults in custody to difficulties facing them on release.

Since 1945, the issues with which the borstal system has had to deal have radically changed, with the result that its success has become less marked in terms of reconviction rates and its philosophy more open to question.

Research and experiment, both in the United Kingdom and elsewhere, appear to indicate that, for offenders of comparable background, time spent in custody cannot be shown to produce any better results than supervision in the community.

Informed opinion now increasingly sees the period in custody as only one part of a continuous process, which should include supervision and control in the community.

The council says abolition of prison sentences for offenders under 21 will fulfil a long-standing aim of successive governments. In its place, and that of borstal and detention sentences, the custody and control order would be available to the courts for any offence, other than murder, for which an adult could be sent to prison.

Restrictions on the length of custodial sentences, which have complicated the task of the courts, would be removed. Magistrates' courts would, as now, be limited to sentences of six months.

The Home Secretary would be responsible for release on licence after considering advice from a local licence advisory committee and, for longer sentences, also from the Parole Board.

An offender would have a statutory entitlement, subject to good behaviour, to release on licence when he had served two thirds of the term made under the order. But the council

would like to see maximum flexibility in the transfer of offenders from custody to supervision in the community and many offenders would probably be released sooner than that.

After release, an offender would be under supervision for the rest of the term of the order, subject to a minimum period of six months. During that time he would be liable to be recalled.

Sir Kenneth Younger was chairman of the council. Our Legal Correspondent writes: Out of the 19 members of the advisory council, no fewer than 12 expressed dissent or reservation from some of the main proposals of the report on young offenders.

Four members of the committee, including Lady Wootton of Abinger and Mr Louis Blom-Cooper, QC, chairman of the Howard League for Penal Reform, feel that the report should have gone much further.

They said: "In particular, we think it excessively preoccupied with custodial treatment. In our view, custody ought never to be inflicted unless this is indispensably necessary for the protection of the public or there are clear advantages that can be secured only by removal from the community."

"Treatment in custody has demonstrably failed for many young offenders, as the high figures for recidivism testify, and as the report itself acknowledges. It is at best a costly way of achieving very little, and all too often has only negative consequences, inasmuch as it disturbs the offender's personal and social roots, as well as interfering with his employment."

The authors specifically dissent from the proposals for restricted release orders, intermediate detention and automatic remission.

In another note of dissent, four committee members, including Mr Justice Waller and Sir Leon Radzinowicz, recently retired head of the Institute of Criminology at Cambridge, reject the proposals in the report for introducing temporary detention for 72 hours for breach of an order.

They contend that an arrest for such a breach would be based on the opinion of the supervisor of the offender. "Arrest, which is based on opinion is arbitrary, and the fact that it is limited to 72 hours, is backed by a magistrate's warrant and is made under the authority of an Act of Parliament does not prevent it from being arbitrary. We have fought against arbitrary power for centuries. It should not be introduced in a manner under the guise of penal reform."

Lady James of Rusholme and Professor Nigel Walker, the present head of the Institute of Criminology, dissent from the report's recommendation that custody and control orders should not be subject to being suspended.

They say: "It seems to us a cardinal principle of sentencing that unless there is some overriding consideration such as the protection of the public, sentences ought to try every measure short of custody before resorting to it. One such measure is the suspended custodial sentence."

Young Adult Offenders. Report of the Advisory Council on the Penal System. (Stationery Office, £1.65).



Carla Lane, right, creator of "The Liver Birds", the BBC television series, with Nerys Hughes and Miss Lane, who star in the series, at a luncheon yesterday after Miss Lane had been named author of "the best comedy television show of the year" written specially for a female star. Miss Lane received £500; Miss Hughes and Miss James each received £250.

Pat Arrowsmith jailed for 18 months

Pat Arrowsmith, aged 44, the peace campaigner, was sentenced at the Central Criminal Court yesterday to 18 months' imprisonment on being found guilty of trying to persuade troops away from their duties.

Miss Arrowsmith, of Middle Lane, Eborac, London, had denied that on September 22, 1973, she maliciously tried to seduce a member of HM Forces from his duty. She had also denied attempting to incite disaffection by possessing leaflets headed "Some information for British soldiers" which contained an offence under the Incitement and Disaffection Act.

1973, she maliciously tried to seduce a member of HM Forces from his duty. She had also denied attempting to incite disaffection by possessing leaflets headed "Some information for British soldiers" which contained an offence under the Incitement and Disaffection Act.

Trickster may get sentence of 9½ years

From Our Correspondent

Winchester. A confidence trickster who was said to have preyed on elderly people, stealing their hard-earned savings, was warned by Judge Broderick, QC, at Winchester Crown Court yesterday that he might be jailed for nine and a half years.

Sentence was adjourned for a social inquiry report on Daniel Ruff, aged 40, of St George's Square, Portsmouth, who pleaded guilty to eight deception charges. He asked for 62 other offences to be taken into consideration, all concerning pensioners more than 70 years of age.

Judge Broderick said: "This is one of the most appalling cases I have ever had to deal with. It is my present intention to send him to prison for nine and a half years. The sentence I propose is 'not so much a punishment as a way of protecting the public from him for a very substantial period.'"

Police chief dies from gunshot wounds

From Our Correspondent

Kendal. Supt Alfred Harrison, head of the Kendal subdivision of Cumbria police, died in hospital yesterday after being found at the police station suffering from gunshot wounds. "Foul play is not suspected."

Mr Harrison, who was promoted at the weekend from chief inspector, was injured by a gunman in 1965 during an arrest attempt on Oxenholme railway station near Kendal.

Former Clay Cross mer resign because of ill health

From Our Correspondent

Chesterfield. The secretary and the treasurer of the North-east Derbyshire District Council, Mr Frank Green and Mr William Casterton, have resigned because of ill health. They say it was aggravated by having to work for the Clay Cross councillors who defied the Conservative Government's Housing Finance Act.

Until April 1 Mr Green was clerk to the now defunct Clay Cross Urban District Council and Mr Casterton was its chief financial officer. The 11 members of the Labour Council refused to raise rates in accordance with the Act and were eventually disqualified from office.

Mr Green and Mr Casterton say that for nearly two years they have had the constant worry of being ordered by the 11 rebels to do things that they feared were illegal. At one stage

In brief

Passport start for Ms women

Women are to be able to use the prefix Ms (pronounced on their passports). The P Office said yesterday if Foreign Office had approved, which does not mean whether a user is married or single.

Julia Tait, aged 33, an ardent campaigner to be recognized, said: "No government department refuse now to let us use it."

Former matron jailed

Mr Elizabeth Mary 33, a former old people matron of Inglethorpe, Dunfermline, Fifeshire, was sentenced at Dunfermline Court yesterday to three months' imprisonment for £217.62, the pocket money women under her care.

'Life' for killing

Brian Lloyd, aged 38, Field Road, Farnworth, Leicestershire, was sentenced at Manchester Crown Court yesterday to life imprisonment for the murder of Miss Ann, aged 23, a typist of Thorpe, Leicestershire, pleaded guilty.

Silver for captain

Captain Jack Bent Swinmore Lane, 1 Yorkshire, has been awarded a special silver medal by the Royal Society of Arts standing seamanship. Captain Lane was in command of the ship in rescuing 13 lives of an abandoned ship.

15 in plane crash

Twelve passengers and three crew members of a Heron aircraft of Aviation, Norwich, crashed yesterday, wrecking the carriage.

Helicopter rescue

Mr Leonard Gore, age 40, of Thundersley, Essex, was rescued by a helicopter Cullin peak in Skye, injuring his leg on a climb.

Air strike over

British Airways loaders at Heathrow airfield since Saturday suspended work, yesterday their stoppage, which is or delayed European flights.

Paper strike ends

Journalists at the Telegraph, Kettering, ended an 11-day strike dismissed colleague, Reinbeck, aged 29, reinstated.

Library topped out

A £900,000 library at the first big library at Leeds University for 3 was topped out yesterday.

BBC increase actors' pay

New minimum rates will give actors and performers an increase of £18 a day have been agreed between Equity and BBC (our Arts Reporter writes in light entertainment grammes also will get it).

The BBC is extending time by up to two hours increasing the provision of improved employment facilities for Equity. The union is calling a new agreement with 1 vision.

Nearly a million businesses are affected by the changes to Stage 3 of the Price Code

Is yours one of them?

These new controls, strengthening Stage 3 of the Price Code, took effect by May 6th. Every person running a business should know them and should take action where necessary.

The main provisions are:

Manufacturing and Service Industries

All Companies. A price may not be increased under the allowable cost provisions within 3 months of the last increase in the price of the product in question or of one of the same group of related products.

Exceptions include cases:

- where the increase in price permitted by the Code is at least 10%;
- where raw materials and fuel and power account for 75% of total costs;
- where these costs amount to 50% of total costs and the permitted price increase is at least 5%.

Category I and Category II Companies. (Manufacturing and service industries with domestic sales of over £5m p.a.)

Price increases under certain escalation or variation of price clauses introduced after 25th March 1974 for transactions between manufacturers and distributors or domestic consumers must be pre-notified to the Price Commission.

Category II Companies. (Manufacturers with domestic sales of £5m-£50m p.a., service industries with domestic sales of £5m-£20m p.a.)

The pre-notification period for price increases is extended to 28 days.

Distributors

Wholesalers, retailers, and other distributors should cut their gross profit margin reference levels by 10% so long as this does not reduce net profit margins to a level more than one quarter below the reference level.

- This restriction does not apply to distributors engaged mainly in retailing with annual sales of less than £250,000 or to other distributors with annual sales of less than £500,000.

Re-pricing. Retailers should not increase the price of goods that are or have been displayed for sale to reflect the increased cost of replacement stock.

Exceptions include:

- goods on which the average stockturn is less than 10 a year;
- price increases directly resulting from the withdrawal of special offers.

All businesses should abide by the Price Code as now amended. This advertisement is intended as a guide only and further information can be obtained from the Price Commission Centres.

Price Commission Centres

Office for Scotland 3rd Floor, 440 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow G2 3NS. Tel: 041-332 6346 West Midlands Region Bayliss House, Hurst Street, Birmingham B5 4BS. Tel: 021-622 3541/4 London Region 2nd Floor, Wingate House, Shaftesbury Avenue, London W1V 7AE. Tel: 01-439 4401 Eastern Region Kett House, Station Road, Cambridge CB1 2JX. Tel: Cambridge 5917/4 (STD code 0223) South East Region Sussex House, High Street, Crawley RH11 1YR. Tel: Crawley 27352/4 (STD code 0293) East Midlands Region Spur E Block 6, Government Buildings, Chalfont Drive, Nottingham NG8 3RP. Tel: Nottingham 291111 (STD code 0602) Yorkshire & Humberside Region 3rd Floor, Royal Exchange House, Boar Lane, Leeds LS1 5NS. Tel: Leeds 38133 (STD code 0532) Northern Region Gunner House, Neville Street, Newcastle upon Tyne NE1 5DN. Tel: Newcastle upon Tyne 611331 (STD code 0632) North West Region Warwick House, 7 Warwick Road, Old Trafford, Manchester M16 0HP. Tel: 061-472 6911/4 South West Region 12th Floor, Frome House, Rupert Street, Bristol BS1 2QN. Tel: Bristol 256727 (STD code 0272) Office for Wales 4th Floor, Westminster House, 95/97 St. Mary Street, Cardiff CF1 1DX. Tel: Cardiff 41532/4 (STD code 0222) Office for Northern Ireland 3rd Floor, Midland Hotel, Whitla Street, Belfast BT15 1JU. Tel: 0232 740493/4.



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WEST EUROPE

Victory of M Giscard d'Estaing welcomed with undisguised relief by EEC and Nato officials

On Roger Barthoud's words, May 20: "The victory of M Giscard d'Estaing in the French presidential election was greeted with undisguised relief at EEC and Nato headquarters today."

Finance Minister, he has been admired in Brussels for his lucidity and cool blend of pragmatism and realism. It is expected that he will take some of the more radical measures, especially in regard to the Common Market.

Mr. Giscard d'Estaing and his Communist partners would have no unpredictable and unifying factor in an already storm-tossed European Community, and at Nato no one had the prospect of sharing with a partially Communist government.

His desire to keep Reds away from the Nato bed was made embarrassingly clear in his reaction today to Dr. Luns, the secretary-general of Nato. He said he was shocked that the French had shown their sense of responsibility, expressed their aversion to any form of indirect extremism, and their reference to the will of the French people was not expected.

France's armed forces to be brought back soon to the integrated Nato command from which General de Gaulle withdrew them in 1966.

But it is hoped at Nato that the Gaullist temptation to weaken the all-Atlantic alliance may be resisted more frequently. Greater willingness to cooperate in such matters as standardization of equipment and joint European arms procurement is also considered possible.

On the EEC front, a strong Paris-Bonn axis is expected to result from the close understanding between Herr Schmidt, the new West German Chancellor, and France's new President.

Bonn, May 20.—Herr Schmidt, the Chancellor, conferred by telephone during the night with M Giscard d'Estaing and the two agreed to meet as soon as possible to discuss pressing European questions, a Bonn Government spokesman reported today.

The spokesman said no date had yet been set, but the meeting would take place in Bonn. The meeting was seen as an opportunity to consider ways of promoting European unity.

The two leaders enjoyed a warm personal relationship when both were Finance Ministers.

David Spenser writes: M Giscard d'Estaing may be slightly better disposed towards Britain's hopes of negotiating the terms of EEC membership than his predecessor, but his negative comments on the subject during the presidential election campaign suggest he is certainly prepared to consider minor adjustments of the country's arrangements regarding Britain. What he has ruled out is any substantive changes in the treaty of accession.

At the time of the British general election, Mr. Wilson's stand on renegotiation as something of an electioneering bluff, not to be taken at face value. Since then, the Community partners have come to recognize that the Labour Government is entirely serious about it.

M Giscard d'Estaing does not take a rigid stand on principle on matters such as monetary union, where he is ready to try new techniques to preserve Community cooperation.

In that sense he may well show more flexibility than might be expected in considering solutions to Britain's problems, provided he feels that the basic commitments Britain made are being upheld.

Fred Emery writes from Washington: President Nixon telephoned his congratulations to M Giscard d'Estaing during the night and told him he would become the "premier economic statesman of the free world," the White House said.

Senior Washington officials made no bones in advance of their preference for M Giscard d'Estaing. He is well known here, particularly to the Treasury.

With Herr Schmidt at the helm in Bonn, and with Mr. Wilson's Atlanticism, at least warmly approved, those managing foreign policy expect that America's relations with Europe are about to be strengthened significantly.

Former leaders of Portugal fled to Brazil

Nicholas Ashford writes, May 20: "In the Americas, Tomas, the former President, and his wife, the former Prime Minister, have been exiled to Brazil."

Two men, ousted by the coup, were flown to Sao Paulo today in a Portuguese military aircraft from Madeira, as they have been held in incommunicado custody for three and a half weeks. Their families remained in Portugal.

He decided to exile the two was taken by the Portuguese military junta and not by the civilian Government, taking such a course the military has avoided having to put two former leaders on trial, a process which could have seriously divided the nation and could have certainly caused bad feeling among Dr. Caetano's former supporters.

Brazil, May 20.—Dr. Caetano and Admiral Tomas have been granted political asylum in Brazil, a Government spokesman said today. Reuter.

Editor in Mozambique, page 6

Paris alive with rumours about Giscard team

Continued from page 1

like it, just as he wanted to meet the press in a formal setting, rather than the traditional presidential press conference, once described under General de Gaulle as the "High Mass of the regime."

Finally, there will be innovation in policy. Yesterday's election showed the country to be almost equally divided between right and left, and M Giscard d'Estaing is now more determined than ever to reconcile Frenchmen.

"France", he said a few years ago, "wants to be governed from the centre." It is clear that at the moment the country wants to be governed from the left of centre.

The question is whether he can do it. His difficulties, commentators agree, will be more social than financial or political. Politically, he has an even bigger majority in Parliament than M Pompidou.

The Gaullists, still the largest party, will support him loyally, but not unconditionally. M Pompidou, one of the leaders, said last night. They will become more independent of the Government, but there seems no question of their refusing posts in it.

The executive committee was deciding at a meeting tonight just how far their support would go.

Inflation, the biggest problem, demands more drastic and equitable treatment than M Giscard d'Estaing was willing to apply as Finance Minister.

Finally, in the labour field, observers noted the relatively moderate tone of comments by trade union leaders last night. They will not challenge the Government right away, before the summer holidays, but the test will come in the autumn.

M Giscard d'Estaing said last night that a new era had begun. One has ended for M Mitterrand. It seems unlikely that he will again be a candidate for the presidency, seven years hence, when he will be 63.

With the voting returns in from the overseas territories, the result is M Giscard d'Estaing 13,398,413 (50.8 per cent), M Mitterrand 12,975,622 (49.2 per cent).

Leading article, page 17



A police inspector, stripped of his trousers to prove he is not carrying firearms, takes refreshment to two gunmen holding two women hostage in a Geneva bank raid.

Four girls held hostages

Göteborg, May 20.—A young gunman grabbed four girl hostages in a chemist's shop here today and demanded the release of a man jailed for his part in a similar raid at a Stockholm bank last year.

The young man, said to have been under the influence of drugs, fired a burst from a sub-machinegun as policemen ringed the building. No one was hurt.

The man, according to the police, was demanding that Clark Olofsson should be freed from jail.

The shots fired today were apparently to warn two of the hostages who tried to get out through a window. Police told the hostages not to make any further attempts to escape until they had talked with the gunman.—Reuter.

EEC delays meeting on farming muddle

From David Cross, Brussels, May 20

A fresh attempt to reduce trade disruption in agricultural products between Italy and the rest of the European Economic Community has been postponed for a week.

The European Commission hopes that the delay will enable it and member governments to devise new measures to limit the damage caused by the Italian Government's recent decision to curb certain imports as a means of correcting its balance of payments.

Announcing the postponement at a press conference in Brussels today, Mr. Pierre Lardinois, the Commissioner for agricultural policy, said he hoped that the commission would be able to agree on a new list of possible steps this week. These would be submitted to ministers of agriculture of the Nine, whose postponed meeting would now take place next Monday. The ministers had planned originally to meet tomorrow.

Mr. Lardinois said that the new measures would include changes in the border tax arrangements between Italy and the rest of the Community on all agricultural products and special additional measures for beef. The new arrangements would replace the present Italian scheme for a 50 per cent cash deposit scheme on agricultural imports and would be less disruptive to trade in farm products.

As Mr. Lardinois conceded at the press conference, West German exports of beef to Italy have been affected particularly severely at a time when West German cold storage plants are already filled to capacity with surplus beef stocks.

The changes would provide an incentive for Italian farmers to produce more beef and discourage trade into Italy by reducing some of the export subsidies which farmers in other Community countries receive to compensate them for the de facto devaluation of the Italian lira and other currency changes.

Mr. Lardinois made clear that the Commission wanted to avoid any conflict with the Italian Government, or indeed with any other member government, over Italian import curbs. This was interpreted here as a sign that the Commission intends to table new measures only when it has secured tentative approval of its plans. This process will involve contacts with the West Germans, in particular, whose farm trade with Italy has suffered most from the Italian import restrictions.

After the dismal failure of foreign and agriculture ministers to agree a fortnight ago on any ways to limit trade disruption, the Commission badly needs a display of unity to restore a little of its lost self-confidence. This is clearly one of the principal reasons why Mr. Lardinois travelled to Rome last Friday for talks with Italian Government leaders and why he plans to meet the West Germans for similar discussions later this week.

Our Agricultural Correspondent writes: Postponement of the meeting looks like helping British pig producers. The special subsidy to meet pig producers' present market losses was due to be cut from 50p a score lb to 30p at the end of May, but Brussels approval is needed for any change in the rate.

Sir Henry Plumb, president of the National Farmers' Union, had a two-hour meeting with Mr. Peart, Minister of Agriculture, in London yesterday to discuss the position of pig and beef producers.

Our Political Staff writes: A delegation of six Liberal MPs will travel to Brussels on Wednesday to discuss the agricultural crisis in Britain with Mr. Lardinois. It will be led by Mr. Emylyn Hooson, the MP for Montgomeryshire, who is the Liberal spokesman on agriculture.

Mr. Hooson said the purpose of the visit was to impress on the Commissioner the serious nature of the crisis in the livestock sector of the agriculture industry and in the horticultural industry.

Court yields to threat by Italian extremists

From Our Correspondent Milan, May 20

The Genoa Appeal Court today ordered the release of eight prisoners serving sentences ranging from 10 years imprisonment to life for offences including murder and conspiracy against state security.

They were freed on condition that no harm be done to Signor Mario Sossi, the Genoa assistant prosecutor, who was kidnapped more than a month ago by an extremist group, calling itself the "Red Brigades."

The Red Brigades had said in a message left in a Genoa telephone box that Signor Sossi was being held in a "people's jail" and was being tried by a "people's court."

In another message they said he had been found guilty of a number of crimes "against the people," but that he would be exchanged for the eight prisoners.

In ruling that the eight prisoners be freed, the Appeal Court granted a request filed by the Sossi family lawyer.

The Appeal Court today ruled that the eight prisoners be given passports and allowed to go abroad. However, the issuing of passports is an administrative act depending upon the remains to be seen whether the Minister of the Interior, and it might be denied to the eight.

Genoa, May 20.—Dr. Sossi had helped prosecute the eight extremists. The eight are held in prisons all over the country and it was not immediately known if they would accept their release.

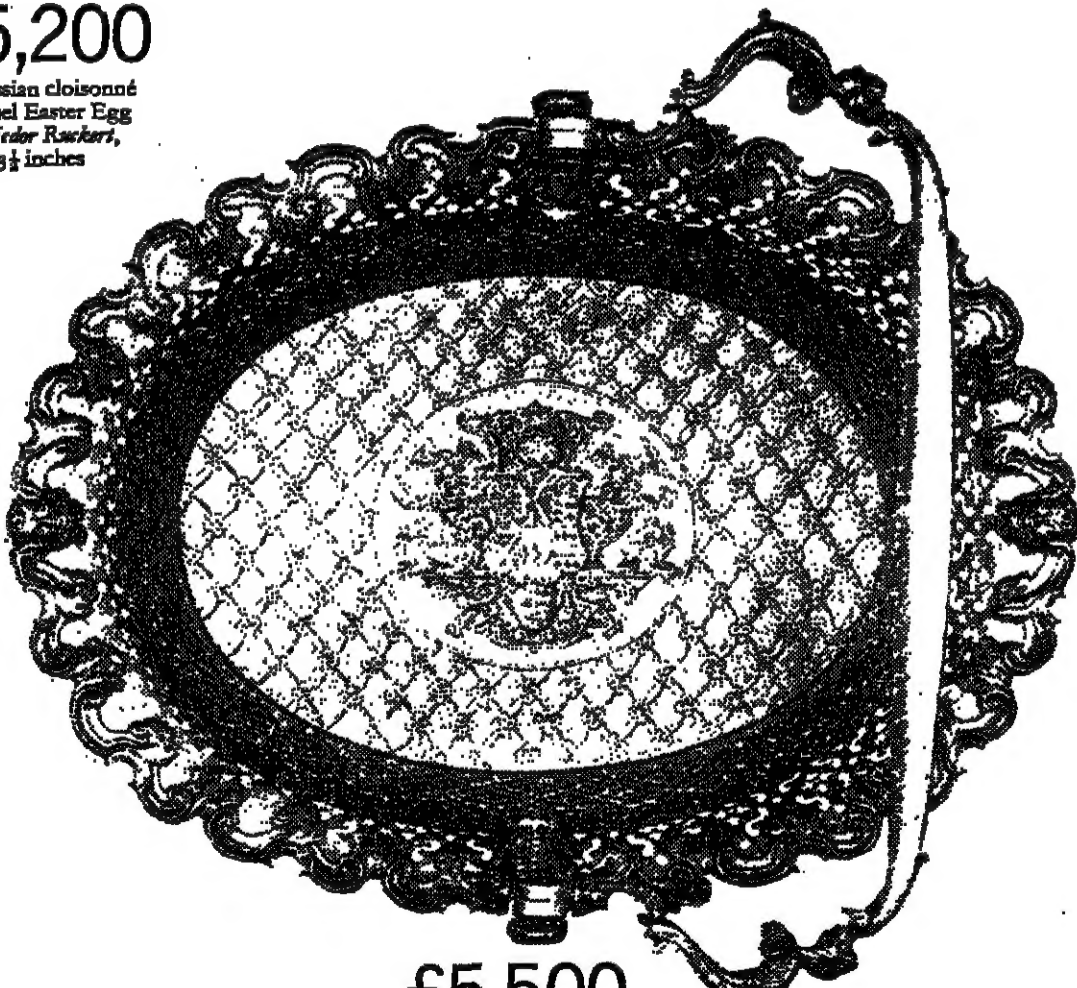
Signor Luigi Preti, Minister of Transport and Civil Aviation, sharply criticised the court's decision, saying it would make "citizens lose faith in the law."

"To save the life of one man, not only has it put in danger the lives of hundreds but it engenders in criminals the conviction that whatever crime they commit there is always the possibility of getting free by blackmailing the state."—Reuter and UPI.

Last week at Sotheby's



£5,200
A Russian cloisonné enamel Easter Egg by Fedor Rokhov, 3 1/2 inches



£5,500
A silver cake basket, by Thomas Farner, 1737, 13 inches wide



£4,500
Rhodes, tetradrachm, c. 360 BC



£1,050
A Dutch silver table bell, by Hendrik Swering, Amsterdam, 1752, 5 inches



£105
A Lund corkscrew, patented in 1838

Italian judges to go on strike for two days

From Our Own Correspondent Rome, May 20

The National Association of Judges today called a two-day strike to demand higher pay and a reform of the Italian judicial system.

On May 29 and May 30 all judicial activities will be brought to a halt except hearings of cases concerned with labour disputes and penal action against persons in custody. Protest meetings will be held in courtrooms to which parliamentarians and journalists will be invited as well as all those directly concerned with the administration of justice.

The association called on President Leone to put pressure on the politicians to solve the serious problems facing justice and the judges.

Editors intend to develop 'Europa' further

By Our Foreign Staff

The economic monthly Europa, published jointly by Le Monde, La Stampa, The Times and Die Welt, is to be improved and further developed in its second year of publication.

This was agreed at a meeting of managing directors and editors of the four newspapers, held in Venice last week, to review progress to date. The hosts at the meeting were Signor Giovanni Giovannini, publisher of La Stampa, and Signor Arrigo Levi, its editor-in-chief.

Mr. M. J. Hussey, managing director of The Times, told the meeting: "We are very pleased with the start Europa has made. It was a totally new newspaper concept and to publish throughout the past months, given all the difficulties of countries in the European Community, shows that the principles on which it was founded are sound. We believe that it has great promise for the future."

The next issue of Europa, published on June 4, the four newspapers will contain an interview with Dr. Joseph Luns, Secretary-General of Nato, and a report on the way that American companies in Europe are coping with the economic crisis.

Football supporters in death crash

Rome, May 20.—Three people were killed and 11 injured today in a collision between a lorry and a bus carrying supporters of the Lazio football club home from the team's last game of the season.—UPI

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Address _____

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Adverse in _____ graduating in 197 _____

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RN ROYAL NAVY

Hope in Jerusalem that Dr Kissinger's Golan peace plan will be initialled by weekend

the agreement the Israelis would hand back to Syria the bridge captured during the

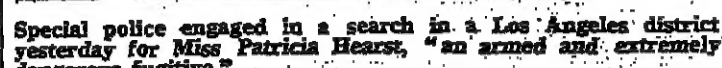
belligerents kept up their 10-week-old tank and artillery duels along the Golan Heights.

The right of the Palestinian people to "self-determination in

a broadly based assembly with 150 representatives from all Palestinian communities.—New York Times News Service.

By Christopher Sweeney

The alleged activities of Mr Jahanbin were first reported by *The Sunday Times* nine days



From Our Correspondent
Salisbury, May 20

began in the north-east border area 18 months ago previous highest number

From Peter Stafford

Dominican

give herself up, but Mr. Hearst said he did not believe she would. "She honestly believes now that she's a member of the group", he said. "This sort of brainwashing is not an unheard

Santo Domingo, May 20.—I

number of bullets but no one was hurt.—Agence France-Press.

From Patrick Brogan

which, allegedly, it only occurred to the President to ask nine months later. "Jeb", he asked, "What the hell is going on?" Mr Magruder replied: "It was our operation. It got screwed up. We're going to take care of it."

Beirut, May 20.—The So-

Saigon, May 20.—Government combat units moved northwards today in a drive to push communist troops from outposts they overran on Saigon's outer defence perimeter.

Saigon, May 20.—Governments

S African jud

From Our Correspondents

Beira, May 20.—Dr Antonio de Almeida Santos, Portuguese Minister for Interterritorial Co-ordination, arrived in Mozambique today for a visit which

Reims, May 20 ... Dr. Antonio

Dr Santos during his visit.

Dr Santos, who flew here from Angola, was met at the airport by Colonel David Ferreira, the acting Governor-General of Mozambique, and

Employees of a private trans-

Meanwhile the military capital of Nampula was under tight control by troops today after rioting yesterday by Macua tribesmen. The riots apparently were in protest against the

tion is attributed to Mr. Malvin Laird, the former Defence Secretary, in *New Republic* magazine. This is that Mr. Nixon is waiting for some foreign policy triumph to be able to bow out with head

Frequently this past
Christian Science Moni
been the first to carry
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Stores Around London

Penge 23 Station Rd.
Pinner 108 Pinner Park 105 Longford Rd.
Hamstead 63 Chiswick Rd.
North London Broadway Rd. N.22
Harrow 64 Downs Park Rd.
Cushworth 16 High St.
Kingsley 97 Kingsley Rd.
Acton & Ealing Bishops, Old Oak Rd.
Olympia 87, Hammonds Rd.
Waltham 103 Victoria Rd.
Isleworth 25A, Tuckwell Rd.
Wembley 231, Harrow Rd.
Widmore 10, Great Aylestone St. n.d.
Wokingham 27, The Ridgeway
Blackheath 124, Rockingham Way
Victoria 27-28 Rochford Row
Weymouth 15 Wye St., St. John's Wood Terrace
Whitstable 1732, High Road
St. Austrey Road 467, 487, 494 Ashley Lane
Alridge 6 Cornhill House, Blackchurch Lane,
Holborn Viaduct (opp. new station)
Ech 14, Ech Hill
Soho 47, Brown St. w.p. 1
Elkhorn 45, Kent Ave.
Hackney 49B, Herford Rd.

Wimbledon 28, Eltra Rd.
Croydon 171, Market Road.
Brimley 356 Southborough Lane.
Chertsey 441 Denham Way.
Chingford 81 Swinerton Road.
Chesham 122 Little Lane.
Exeter 207, Fittes Rd. Barnard.
Burch Road.
Chelsea 76 Chelsea Land St. S.W.V. NEW

Stores Around Britain

Westall 61183 Hume St.
Eastbourne 1 High Street (Old Town).
Bournemouth 3 Surf Road.
Maidenhead 10, Queens Rd.
Portsmouth 378 London Rd.
Galford 121, Addison Rd.
Reading 354-257, London Rd.
Oxford 6, Kendall Centre.
Leeds 100, New Street.
Nirringham 660, Woodborough St.
Nottingham.
Birmingham 15 Druid Hill, Stoke Bishop.
Birmingham - Ansons Green
1161-1165, Warwick Road.

Weilwarrnambe 4 Roonville Court, Castle St.
Geelong. NEW
Melbourne 4246 Casson St. NEW
Torquay 116, Mary Church Rd. NEW
Esper 772 Burntwood Lane.
(Opening Oct. 1st)
Plymouth 118 Blanford Rd. Lov. or Campbell
(Opening 150 days)
Rhybydd 210 Penryn Road, Oberer Junc.

**NEW BRANCHES
OPENING SOON**

EXETER OPENS 6 JUNE
PLYMOUTH OPENS 15 JUNE
RUGBY - MARGATE - SIDCUP
WESTON-SUPER-MARE

Moscow agrees to supply arms to Libya

Bairut, May 20.—The Soviet Union has agreed to a Libyan request for Russian-made weapons and promised to increase its military cooperation with Libya, the Iraq news agency said today.

The report, quoting "informed circles" in the Libyan capital, came in a lengthy article on the visit to the Soviet Union of Major Jalloud, the Libyan Prime Minister, which entered its seventh day today.

In Moscow, Tass said Major Jalloud left today for Leningrad after five days of talks with Soviet leaders.—UPI and Reuter.

Vietnam drive to push back communists

Saigon, May 20.—Government combat units moved northwards today in a drive to push communist troops from outposts they occupy on Saigon's outer defence perimeter.

Military sources said that advance units had crossed the Thi Tinh river, on whose south-east bank, just 25 miles north of Saigon, a task force of armour, artillery and infantry has been massing for three days.

Early today, communist sappers penetrated South Vietnam's biggest oil depot at Nha Be, outside the capital, blowing up a tank and destroying some 315,000 gallons of petrol.—Reuter.

Snow in Moscow

Moscow, May 20.—Heavy snow blanketed Moscow for the second day today, after a heat-wave earlier this month.—Reuter.

S African judges dismiss silent woman's appeal

From Our Correspondent Johannesburg, May 20

An appeal by a member of the South African Christian Institute against her conviction for refusing to give evidence to a Government commission was dismissed in Pretoria today.

Mrs Dorothy Clemishaw, aged 51, was fined 20 Rand (£12.50) and given a suspended jail sentence of two months in January for refusing to give evidence to the Schiebusch commission of MPs which was set up to investigate anti-apartheid organizations.

In dismissing her appeal today, three judges said that the judgment in the case of Dr

Beyers Naude, director of the Christian Institute, had been "clearly wrong" and they were not bound by it. Dr Naude, former moderator of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, won his appeal against conviction in a similar case.

The three judges said Mrs Clemishaw's objection to giving evidence to the commission was based on political motives not valid in law. She had claimed, like Dr Naude, that the commission was unconstitutional.

She said she would be prepared to testify to a judicially appointed body which held hearings in public.

Lisbon minister in Mo

Beira, May 20.—Dr Antonio de Almeida Santos, Portuguese Minister for Interterritorial Co-ordination, arrived in Mozambique today for a visit which could be crucial for the future of Portugal's East African territory.

Dr Santos, a Mozambique lawyer before he became a minister last week, will hold discussions on the territory's future here and in the Mozambique capital of Lourenço Marques during the next three days.

There is a growing belief here that Mozambique, until now regarded in Lisbon as an indivisible part of Portugal, will become independent in the not too distant future.

Dr Santos is also expected to consider the industrial unrest which has affected the territory recently. As he arrived here several thousand black dockers, who have brought the port of Lourenço Marques to a standstill, decided to continue a pay strike and seek a meeting with Dr Santos during his visit.

Dr Santos, who flew here from Angola, was met at the airport by Colonel David Ferreira, the acting Governor-General of Mozambique, and General Basilio Machado, the local armed forces Commander-in-Chief.

He will have talks with both of them before travelling to Lourenço Marques later today

for discussions with interested parties on the territory's future and ways of ending the 10-year-old war with the Frelimo guerrilla movement.

Dr Santos has mentioned already the possibility of complete independence for all of Portugal's African territories—Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau.

The Lourenço Marques dockers, who decided to continue their strike at a mass meeting in a city centre square this morning, are mainly employed by the railways. They started the strike last Friday, calling for big increases in pay while now taking 40 escudos (£12.50) a day for what is normally only one or two-day working week. They are seeking at least 42 escudos (£8), a day, plus such fringe benefits as housing and medical subsidies.

The dock strike is the biggest example of industrial unrest which has affected major urban centres in Mozambique since freedom of expression was restored by the April 25 coup in Lisbon.

Employees of a private transport company which runs bus services in the Lourenço Marques area were still on strike today, after stopping work on Friday, while waiters at several city centre cafés refused to serve customers this morning.

Railway workers are threatened

PORT

Piggott's mounts have form that cannot be lightly dismissed

Jim Snow, racing correspondent, writes that Piggott's mounts have form that cannot be lightly dismissed. The article discusses the performance of horses trained by Piggott, highlighting their consistent success in various races.

Long before a maiden event comes his way... The article continues to analyze the form of Piggott's horses, noting their ability to perform under pressure and their consistent record in major races.



Lester Piggott: could now close the gap behind Pat Eddery at the top of the jockeys' championship.

ottingham programme

ottingham programme details various horse racing events, including the Ely Horse Plate, Ely Handicap, and other local races. It provides names of horses, jockeys, and trainers for each event.

Ludlow NH

Ludlow NH section lists racing results and programs for the Ludlow National Hunt, detailing various jumps and the performance of different horses.

Hamilton Park results

Hamilton Park results provide a detailed account of the racing events held at Hamilton Park, including race names, participants, and the outcomes of each competition.

ottingham selections

ottingham selections offer expert picks and recommendations for the upcoming racing events in Nottingham, based on current form and historical performance.

Verhampton results

Verhampton results list the outcomes of racing events at Verhampton, providing names of winners and other notable participants.

Windor

Windor section covers racing results and programs for the Windor area, including details on local races and horse performances.

Southwell NH

Southwell NH section provides racing results and programs for the Southwell National Hunt, detailing various jumps and horse performances.

Pontefract

Pontefract section lists racing results and programs for the Pontefract area, including details on local races and horse performances.

Stout tries again

Stout tries again section discusses the efforts of Michael Stout in the racing world, highlighting his previous successes and current endeavors.

Apology to Vindolanda archaeologists

Apology to Vindolanda archaeologists: This section discusses a legal case involving an apology to archaeologists. It details the circumstances of the case, the legal arguments presented, and the court's decision.

Slipping notice under door good service

Slipping notice under door good service: This section reports on a legal case where a notice was slipped under a door. It explores the legal implications of this action and the court's ruling on the matter.

Appleby Fair's Derby price shortens

Appleby Fair's Derby price shortens: This section discusses the impact of the Appleby Fair on the Derby race, specifically focusing on how the fair's activities have affected the betting prices and the overall atmosphere of the event.

Southwell NH

Southwell NH section provides racing results and programs for the Southwell National Hunt, detailing various jumps and horse performances.

Variety to add spice to the cricket library Facts, figures and matters in lighter vein

Variety to add spice to the cricket library: This large section is a review of a book titled 'Facts, figures and matters in lighter vein'. It discusses the book's content, which includes a mix of cricket facts, statistics, and lighter anecdotes. The reviewer praises the book for its variety and its ability to provide a different perspective on the sport of cricket.

FOOD advertisement featuring a cartoon illustration of a cat and a dog, with text promoting food products and services. The advertisement includes a large 'FOOD' headline and a detailed description of the offerings.

PARLIAMENT, May 20, 1974

Ulster strike: Government not seeking confrontation but will preserve essential services

House of Commons

MR ORME, Minister of State, Northern Ireland Office (Salford, West, Lab), made a detailed statement setting out the circumstances leading to the proclamation yesterday of a state of emergency in Northern Ireland.

He said that the number of roads around Belfast were obstructed today, as were roads in and around some of the other towns including Lurgan and Banbridge. The roads were blocked by barricades and some of the vehicles had been removed by the security forces and in many cases the necessary routes were available. But the net effect has been a disruption of ordinary traffic and considerable inconvenience to parts of the Province, particularly in North and East Belfast.

Mr Len Murray, on behalf of the Trade Union Congress, and after consultation with the Northern Ireland Trade Union Committee, has condemned the actions of the Ulster Workers' Council.

He said: "They are a body created to pursue a sectarian policy which is rejected by the trade union movement generally and their objects and activities have no connexion with the protection of working people or the promotion of their common interests."

He went on to say: "The welfare of the great mass of the workers of Northern Ireland is at risk, and the TUC is in no doubt that they will return to work as soon as they can safely do so."

The House will currently stand out against bullying and intimidation will rally the mass of the people of Northern Ireland to the path of reason.

The Government has a duty to preserve life. They will do so. Her Majesty's Forces have been put in a position to help to maintain essential services if necessary. I hope this will not be necessary.

The Government are making a distinction between a confrontation and a strike. If it is necessary to take action or to preserve the essential services then this will be done. Equally the necessary steps will be taken to maintain law and order.

MR PYM (Cambridgeshire, C): This is an attempt at disruption by a group of people, unselected by anybody and unrepresentative, by intimidation, to force workers to stay away from their jobs.

MR ORME: I think Captain Pym for what he said about not seeking confrontation. I hope that the measures I have explained show that the Government have not sought confrontation, but it could be thrown on us if the Ulster Workers' Council were to assert themselves—and there is an indication that they are.

MR REES (South Down, UUCU): We welcome what Mr Orme said about the Government not seeking a confrontation. This is probably the most serious situation arising in the whole history of the last four years. It is necessary that those who are bravely standing out against bullying and intimidation will rally the mass of the people of Northern Ireland to the path of reason.

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citizens are interfered with as little as possible by these threatening gangs and that they will, if necessary, use troops to preserve essential services.

MR ORME: There has been a great misinterpretation of what the Sunningdale agreement stands for. Both the majority and the minority are protected in every aspect of any policy they feel they should pursue. There is no threat in the sense of pulling them into a united Ireland or by any other threat. If the Sunningdale agreement, which covers aspects other than the Council of Ireland, such as security with the Republic and cooperation on economic and social matters, were allowed to work, it would be for the benefit of the people in the north and south.

It is this misinterpretation which is damaging the situation in Ireland. When people realize the facts they will come to see they are being misrepresented by a minority.

The Secretary of State for Defence, in conjunction with the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, has taken steps to ensure that suitable technicians are available if needed and the movement of troops which may be necessary has started.

CAPTAIN ORR (South Down, UUCU): We welcome what Mr Orme said about the Government not seeking a confrontation. This is probably the most serious situation arising in the whole history of the last four years. It is necessary that those who are bravely standing out against bullying and intimidation will rally the mass of the people of Northern Ireland to the path of reason.

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Strong Conservative condemnation of food subsidies

MR SILVESTER (Manchester, West, C) asked the Secretary of State for Prices and Consumer Protection what proportion of the total expenditure so far committed to food subsidies would be received by households with incomes over £20 a week and what proportion would be received by households with incomes under £20 a week.

MR SHIRLEY WILLIAMS (Hertford and Stenage, Lab): It is estimated that 75 per cent of the expenditure will be received by households with incomes above £20 per week and 24 per cent by households below £20 a week. (Conservative cheer.)

MR SILVESTER: Will the Minister recognize that by juggling these figures in this way she is fraudulently making it appear that the vast majority of the money voted by Parliament for food subsidies is going to people she claims not to be seeking to help?

MR WILLIAMS: He must be aware that subsidies are financed by taxation and therefore if one increases taxes on the rich and it goes back to the 1963 situation this is going to grow and if it happens it would be terrible.

MR ORME: I understand the feelings that people have about British troops in Northern Ireland and I know this is questioned in some quarters. I believe the majority of people support British troops remaining in Northern Ireland until we have moved into a situation where there is some stability and peace. I think Protestants and Catholics are aware of this and these people who purport to represent them.

MR EDWIN WAINWRIGHT (Dorset, Lab): There are too many important persons on the other side belonging to the Northern Ireland Protestants who want to go back to 1968 and a growing feeling in this country that our boys should be withdrawn from Northern Ireland. If we were to go back to the 1963 situation this is going to grow and if it happens it would be terrible.

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1974

After consultation with the Local Government Staff Commission these posts are advertised without restriction but all other things being equal preference will be given to serving Local Government Officers.

Nottinghamshire
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Our South African Associates, Arthur Young & Co., write applications from recently qualified Chartered accountants and from persons awaiting the results of their final examination, to work as audit seniors in their Cape Town office.

These positions offer:

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A partner from Cape Town office will be in London on May 28 and May 29 and would like to meet interested applicants. Please write in confidence giving brief career details to:

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McClelland Moores & Co.,
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Tel: 01-628 4070 ext. 119Principal Estates
Surveyor16-£5,223 (including London Weighting)
essential user car allowance.

Is a new third tier post in the Estates & Valuation Department. person appointed will head a Division with responsibility for development and management of the Corporation's estate (not housing), for maintenance of buildings, for rating and for Drawing Office services. He will be expected to lead the post business management team, together with drive and initiative to develop and improve the operations Division.

on is one of the largest of the London Boroughs. The town is about 334,000 and the Borough has a total rateable of about £54m. The Corporation has a significant estate from in the Town Centre, and industrial estates to golf courses farms, with an annual rent roll exceeding £2m.

ations are limited from Chartered Surveyors with wide experience at senior level.

proved cases assistance will be considered for temporary to accommodation and grants towards removal expenses.

CROYDON

ation forms and further particulars may be obtained from Estates Surveyor & Valuer, London Borough of Croydon, Local Offices, Felt Road, Croydon CR9 3JY or telephone 4433. Ext: 2382.
g date for applications 12th June, 1974.BOTTLING EQUIPMENT
MANUFACTURERS

P.A. Milan (Established 1910) is setting up a U.K. to market their bottling equipment. The new must be run by a dynamic and efficient team. we are seeking:

SALES MANAGER

Candidates must have a thorough technical knowledge of speed lines in the bottling industry. He must be able to travel and work long hours and must have first hand experience at all levels. Offices will be in central London. we offer:

Annual Salary between six and seven thousand pounds.
Commission on the total sales of the new U.K. company.
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First year's salary guaranteed by contract.

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Candidate is also required to have the necessary technical and sales experience of the industry and be able to travel and work closely with the Sales Manager running of the organisation.

Annual Salary three thousand five hundred to four thousand pounds.
Plus benefits similar to the Sales Manager

in writing to Fritchard, Engelfield and Tobin (Ref. 23 Great Castle Street, W.1)

MANAGER
PERSONNEL AND TRAINING

BARIC designs and sells computer systems, and processes customers' work on its own System 4 and 1900 computers at sites throughout the U.K. and Eire. The Company is seeking a Manager for the Personnel and Training Sector. He would propose policy to the M.D., and implement this policy once agreed, with the main aim of caring for the well-being of staff in their work, and providing optimum conditions for their personal development consistent with BARIC's primary task.

THE COMPANY
Founded 1970, an ICL subsidiary and an associate of Barclay's Bank, BARIC is one of the two largest computer bureaux in the U.K. and Eire, 1,000 staff. Forecast turnover 1973/1974 is £5.2 million. BARIC is profitable and has been steadily growing since 1970. Organised with three operating Sectors (area based) supported by strong central services - Personnel and Training, Financial Control and Accounts, Planning.THE JOB
The Personnel and Training Manager reports to the M.D., and is responsible for proposing and implementing policy throughout the Company concerning organisational structure, manpower planning, role analysis and design, appraisals of performance, work and career needs, training, recruitment and conditions of employment. He is a member of BARIC's senior management group and is based in London. His sector has 12 professional staff, 3 reporting directly to him.

BARIC is a company that is doing something about the work problems and needs of its staff. Currently all staff in London, in collaboration with the Tavistock Institute, are engaged

in a process designed to help staff in planning for their work and career needs. The Personnel and Training Manager will be expected to help in guiding this work and through his sector provide a focus for initiating change.

THE MAN
The job requires maturity, a sensitivity to individual, group and organisational needs and an ability to translate this awareness into workable personnel policies. The job is not an easy one; high intelligence and perseverance are needed, particularly in those aspects which involve changing accepted procedures.

The experience necessary is not likely to have been gained before 35. The man appointed will probably have worked as a Personnel Manager and have made use of social science contributions in the understanding of organisations. It is a job offering an unusual opportunity, as the M.D. wants BARIC to be a leader in developing the right sort of organisation for staff.

Salary negotiable between £5,455-£7,295. Company pension scheme. The Tavistock Institute has been retained by BARIC to advise on the selection and for an application form and more information please write to:-

A. G. K. Bain,
Tavistock Institute of Human Relations,
120 Belsize Lane,
London, N.W.3.
or call 01-435 7111

BARIC IS AN ICL/BARCLAYS BANK COMPANY

SOUTH WALES
GENERAL WORKS
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PLUS COMPANY CAR

THE COMPANY

Fast-expanding capital intensive Plastics Company undertaking major expansion. Location South Wales area.

THE JOB

The control and co-ordination of several manufacturing units producing different products.

THE MAN

Probably aged about 40 with proven works management experience, preferably in a medium sized capital intensive operation.

THE FUTURE

Future prospects for advancement to Board and profit sharing are excellent.

BOX No. 2766 C, THE TIMES.

South Wales
PERSONNEL/TRAINING
OFFICER

Salary around £4,000 per annum

THE COMPANY

Fast-expanding capital intensive Plastics Company undertaking major expansion. Location South Wales area.

THE JOB

Selection and training of all personnel.

THE MAN

Mid 30 plus. Experienced and preferably qualified in this field.

THE FUTURE

The Company places great importance on these areas as the key to expansion. Prospects therefore for a Board appointment and profit sharing are excellent.

Box 2765 C, The Times.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
CIVIL ENGINEERING INDUSTRY
LONDON

An Industrial Relations SECRETARY is required by a National Employers' Organisation in Westminster.

This is a responsible post, involving contact with Government Departments, allied bodies, members and trade unions; Committee and Conciliation Board work; and the preparation of analyses and reports.

Applicants should be aged 30-40; have a degree in law or economics; experience in industrial relations; and an aptitude for high quality written work.

Salary in the range £4,000 to £5,000 depending on qualifications and experience.

Applications, giving full details, to the

General Secretary,

Federation of Civil Engineering Contractors,
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An established world-wide American bank is seeking a Foreign Exchange Trading Manager for its Singapore branch and affiliate foreign exchange and funding operations. Individual would supervise 5 man trading room.

Inquiries, which will be treated in the strictest confidence, should be addressed to:

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EXPANDING INTERNATIONAL MANUFACTURER—PROCESS INDUSTRY—T/O CIRCA £10 MILLION

These vacancies are open to candidates aged 24-30, preferably single, who have a minimum of 18 months commercial/industrial experience of conducting business at a senior level. Responsibility will be to the Sales Director for the negotiation, development and servicing of profitable contracts of upwards of £100,000 each, with Shipbuilders and Shipowners in the World markets. A comprehensive 3 month product and field training will be provided, including approximately 3 months in Japan. Candidates must be highly profit orientated, adaptable, resilient and possess a strong commercial streak. Initial basic salary £3,800-£5,000 + bonus + car; contributory pension; life insurance; assistance with removal expenses if necessary. Applications in strict confidence under reference OSN3497/TT, to the Managing Director:

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This vacancy calls for candidates aged 40-55 who can demonstrate successful administrative/personnel experience which will have been gained either in the public sector, services, commerce or industry. The selected candidate will be totally responsible to the partners for the smooth running of the office. This overall responsibility will include the recruitment of staff; the control of salaries, staff records, communications, post, print room, catering, library; and the liaison with the landlord and office cleaning contractors. The right man will have a friendly and diplomatic manner, possess a sense of humour, yet operate with the high degree of efficiency expected for this essential function. Initial salary negotiable £3,000-£4,000, pension and life assurance scheme being implemented. Applications in strict confidence under reference POA7808/TT will be forwarded unopened to our client unless you list companies to which they should not be forwarded in a covering letter marked for the attention of the Security Manager.

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LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER
(£7,386-£8,016) (subject to approval)DEPUTY LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE
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(£5,744 x 133 (3)-£6,143)

The post of Legal and Administrative Officer is a chief officer appointment with responsibility for the management of the administrative, committee and legal sections of the department. Certain staff will also be required to act for the Clerk and Chief Executive Officer but for all aspects of day to day management the responsibility will rest with the officer appointed.

The post of Deputy Legal and Administrative Officer is a senior appointment which will carry responsibility for the management of the legal services and involve attendance at Committees. Applicants for both appointments must be experienced Solicitors who have had considerable committee and management experience.

Application forms, returnable by the 3rd June, 1974 are obtainable from the Establishment Officer, Town Hall, Barnsley, S70 2TA.

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A. Bleasby, Clerk and Chief Executive Officer.

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One of Australia's leading carpet manufacturers are seeking a well qualified and highly experienced finishing manager for a continuous dyeing process for tufted carpet.

The successful applicant will be able to demonstrate a sound record of achievement in both the development and production fields. The position is located in Australia and a generous relocation allowance will be provided.

Interviews will be held in London during the next few weeks and applications giving full details of background and experience should be addressed to:

"FINISHING MANAGER,"

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CORPORATIONGRENVILLE COLLEGE, BIDEFORD
HEADMASTER

The Provost and Chapter of the Western Division of the Woodard Corporation invite applications for the post of Headmaster which will become vacant in September, 1975.

There are at present 320 boys aged from 11-18 years, 55 of whom are day boys. The present Headmaster is a member of S.H.M.I.S.

Candidates are invited to make application not later than 1st July, 1974 and these should be sent to the PROVOST, c/o S. R. PERRATT Esq., GOODLAND BULL & CO., BRIDGWATER HOUSE, CORPORATION STREET, TAUNTON. From whom all particulars may be obtained. A stamped and addressed envelope should be enclosed.

City firm with
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This week at Sotheby's



What Europe could lose if Mr Nixon is impeached

What has Europe to fear from the possible impeachment of President Nixon? Fears of con-
dominium, expressed by the French in particular, have been exaggerated, at times grossly so, but there is now reason to be anxious lest the pressures upon the President compel him to make concessions to the Russians at each of the three international conferences, concessions which would bring about agreement at the expense of his European allies.

Nixon can claim more credit for the successes of the new American diplomacy than his detractors will allow. The President may have adopted Dr Kissinger as a favour to Governor Rockefeller, but he has given the doctor his head. An agreement on strategic weapons at Salt 2, movement at Vienna which would permit the reduction of American forces in Europe, and the signatures of Nixon and Brezhnev upon the declaration marking the completion of the security conference at Helsinki in July, could be presented as triumphs in America.

At Salt there appears to be deadlock. Alarmed at the speed with which the Russians have been conducting development of MIRVs for four different missile systems (one of which may be mobile), progress which would permit the Russians to deploy up to seven thousand one or two-megaton MIRVs on heavy land-based missiles from 1975 onwards, compared with about two thousand much smaller American warheads on her land-based missiles, Dr Kissinger is pressing for a substantial reduction in offensive weapons to provide "equivalence" between central systems, including Interdusters upon the "throw-weight" of MIRVs.

But in Moscow in March, Dr Kissinger was confronted instead with Russian demands for the limitation of the numbers of MIRVs (the same number on both sides but the Russian warheads would be larger).

Thus agreement seems possible only at the expense of verification, and at the price of permanent American inferiority in nuclear forces in and around Europe, including tactical nuclear weapons.

They wish to add the French and British nuclear forces to those of the United States in calculating the number of American warheads to be retained by Russia, and they wish to prohibit the transfer of offensive weapons or information to third parties. Europe is not represented at Salt, and her interests could be vitally affected.

The result of the mutual force reduction talks at Vienna so far has been to mark out the rival positions. The Western position is based upon NATO's inferiority in numbers, and seeks a common ceiling for ground force manpower on both sides. It is proposed that this goal be reached in two stages.

In the first it would be American and Russian forces that would be withdrawn, and the concept of a common ceiling agreed. In the second, further reductions, including European forces, down to a common ceiling. The East, however, wishes to keep the existing ratio of forces, and has proposed three stages of reduction.

Everyone would reduce, first by a token number, and subsequently by equal percentages. It has been reported that Russia is seeking to impose limitations on the right of Western European countries to reorganise their forces in the future, eg, in a European Defence Community.



President Nixon: A good friend to Europe.

The Western approach has many advantages. It is good sense to seek the reduction of American and Russian forces first.

There is a distinct qualitative difference between the situations of the USA and the USSR, and that of Europe. Super-Power reductions will affect only a tiny proportion of their forces; for many of the Europeans their entire territories lie within the area of reductions. The Western position could crumble under pressure for quick results. It would not be in the European interest were the timetable to be changed, or the Western position on "associated measures" to be diluted.

We may come under similar pressures at Geneva. The Russians are in a hurry to wind up the proceedings by July. To that end the West will be urged to make concessions in "Basket 3"—the free movement of peoples and information—as to complete the proceedings.

This would be very regrettable, not least because of the concessions already made to Russians in the course of the 10 principles that are supposed to govern the conduct of relations between the states of Europe, that of the "inviolability of frontiers".

At the security conference Europe would appear to have two interests. First, to prevent the Russians from winning the right, through permanent machinery, to be consulted in the affairs of an evolving Community, and secondly, to oblige the Russians to accept free movement of peoples and ideas, a concept which so far they have chosen to interpret quite differently.

If the security conference is an international beauty contest between open and closed societies, any concessions to the Russians on the third basket would be at Cinderella's expense, and greatly to the advantage of the uglier of her two sisters.

It may be churlish to suggest that President Nixon in political extremis would in fact sacrifice the interests of his allies in favour of his own, for whatever the truth about Watergate, the President has been a good friend of the alliance.

The same is true of Dr Kissinger, in spite of his tendency to play every instrument in the American diplomatic band. But Europe has never been more vulnerable. Death and destruction have rolled her of her leaders. In the place of men of vision have come the accountants in search of national advantage. They must care less Europe lose the game even before it is played.

Julian Critchley
Mr Critchley is the rapporteur of the Western European Union Assembly's defence committee.

This column is about a murderer. Or rather, it is about a new kind of photographic lens, though the murderer never saw or even heard of the lens, and it played no part in bringing him to book. And yet the murderer and the lens—and Mr John Lennon, too, for that matter—are bound in a symbiotic union the implications of which we would do well to heed.

For the past two weeks, in the *Sunday Times* colour magazine, the distinguished West Indian novelist, Mr V. S. Naipaul, has been giving an account of the life and times of Michael Malik, alias Michael de Freitas, alias Michael X, who is now under sentence of death in Trinidad for the murder of an associate of his, Joseph Skeritt; Malik was also charged with the murder of an English girl, Gale Benson, but this charge was not proceeded with after he was found guilty on the other.

I met Malik once; I was doing a series of half-hour television interviews at the time, and somebody had suggested that Malik, who was making a good deal of noise at that time as the head of a "black power" organization in this country (as it turned out, the organization existed only on paper—he gave no evidence of its existence), might make a good subject for one of the programmes. We spent an hour or so together, but a few minutes were really all that was needed; he was obviously living in a world of fantasy, one of those figures

who devise a personality for themselves and then persuade some of the sillier people in our society to accept it as real.

Not long afterwards, his imaginary organization collapsed; he was imprisoned for a year on a charge under the Race Relations Act (it was a lamentable case, incidentally—he had been doing no more than "talking big" about killing white men); Mr Nigel Sammel, son of the property millionaire, who had financially backed another of Malik's pet projects, an urban centre to be called "Black House", an American Negro fantasist of the same type as Malik, and even more successful at coining the more glibly in this country, especially in the newspaper world, Gale Benson was then living with Jamal and helping to promote him; to many people he insisted that he was God, though she did not tell me that, and I do not think I would have believed her if she had. I did not write about him.

Both Malik and Jamal were people whom our own society needs to stimulate its own jaded intellectual appetite; it takes them up, plays with them, then discards them when a new sensation appears. (It is worth remembering that the same sort of fashion-

able folk, *mutatis mutandis*, helped to destroy Brendan Behan, in much the same way.)

Anyway, that, these days, is a familiar enough story. But embedded in Michael Malik is a sentence that made me pause for a long time before I read on. Malik in Trinidad had kept up the front of being a big-shot from London, but the guise was slipping, and people were beginning to see through him. "But," says Naipaul in words that rang like a knell, "the visit in April 1971 of John Lennon as his house-guest killed all doubts."

Now this was Trinidad, not King's Road, Chelsea; and there were some hard fellows about, by no means to be compared with the fun-revolutionaries of the *Who*. Presumably those young ladies of good family who think it would be so delightful to run a discotheque. And yet the presence of John Lennon was enough to still all doubts.

Such a world needs gods no less than the ancient world did. It makes them out of a Hakim Jamal, and sometimes gets murdered for it; it makes them out of a Che Guevara or a Ho Chi-minh, whereas others get murdered instead. It makes them out of a Ronald Biggs or an Angela Davis, a Leila Khaled or a Godfather.

And it makes them, again and again, out of those who appear from the infinite variety of sub-cultures that sleep from side to side in the bilges of our society, and mump and gag, and caper and yodel, and strut

him the opportunity to consolidate his position as a political personality in his own right, the leader of a small party, allied to the majority, the Independent Republicans; a spiritual home for all the right of centre forces which had not rallied Gaullism and the nucleus of the new majority party, the *Union*, which he had now brought him to the Elysée Palace.

During this period, he established his reputation in public opinion as a cautious ally of the dominant Gaullist party, and in the eyes of the government, the advocate of the old man, a "cactus" in Prime Minister Pompidou's garden, but never carrying things to breaking point. His stand against the referendum of 1969, which would have made de Gaulle from office, was regarded as an act of treason by the Gaullists which still rankles today. But he rallied to the side of President Pompidou, and resumed the leadership of the *Union*, which he had now brought him to the Elysée Palace.

Two qualities immediately spring to mind when one thinks of de Gaulle: competence and natural authority. Even his political enemies concede them. But these qualities have a certain negative aspect, a certain distance, a certain technocratic approach to the ordinary day-to-day problems of ordinary people. General de Gaulle once said of himself: "The trouble with de Gaulle is the people."

Mr Jacques Duhamel, now President of the Centre-CDD party, has written of him: "M. de Gaulle embodies the type of man who is not of popular essence, but provokes admiration. It is his competence, his authority, which can carry him [to success] through a process of reasoning, through an instinct of conservation, if need be through a reflex of fear. It is not the impression of belonging to the same class; it is not a movement of the heart, not a sentimental approval."

He himself said, in a broadcast last week: "I am accused of being cold. I think this is untrue. I think I am reserved, because that is my nature, and because I am much like you. But, you know, reserved people feel as strongly as others do. That is why, in this campaign, I said I wanted to look France in the eyes. But I also would like to appeal to her heart."

Charles Hargrove

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to hand over to him practically on a platter, the almost proprietary seat of deputy of the Puy-de-Dôme, when he was not turned 30. "I am passionately fond of one thing only," he used to say, "that is the service of the state." It was always taken for granted in his family that he was destined for great things; he nearly obtained office in 1957 in a government which was never formed, and it was only in 1959, after General de Gaulle had taken over the fate of France, that he became a junior minister for finance.

He soon made his mark and impressed his much older political colleagues with his effortless brilliance and ability to master the techniques of his department. And in 1962, General de Gaulle acknowledged his exceptional gifts by making him Minister of Finance, and then of economic affairs as well.

One of his affectations, which became a byword in parliament, was his ability, thanks to his exceptional memory, to deliver

a two-hour budget speech stuffed with facts and figures without so much as a piece of paper in front of him. "The devil of a man, merely listening to him makes one feel intelligent," a honest fellow deputy from the Midi once remarked. What was true of parliament was also true of his electoral audiences during the Presidential campaign. He raised them up to his intellectual level, never talking down to them, making them feel that, thanks to him, they had some inkling of the arcane mysteries of high finance.

This almost inevitable progress towards "national destiny" received a brutal setback when in 1966 Valéry Giscard d'Estaing was made to carry the blame for a highly unpopular deflationary policy which was as his put it, "disastrous like a sea-breeze." But if the pill was bitter, the three-year spell in the political wilderness was an enriching personal and political experience. It gave

him the opportunity to consolidate his position as a political personality in his own right, the leader of a small party, allied to the majority, the Independent Republicans; a spiritual home for all the right of centre forces which had not rallied Gaullism and the nucleus of the new majority party, the *Union*, which he had now brought him to the Elysée Palace.

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Bernard Levin

Innocent victims of the intellectual consumer society

And, after all, why should it not? A crazy con-man convinces a girl with nothing better to do, he is God; another, hardly less crazy, is puffed up like a balloon with hot air of society's search for a taste, when the balloon bursts, takes murder; and it all, anxious to seek a sign, and find it in the press of John Lennon, and murder that is well.

No doubt the camera with the lens, that takes photographs of a testing charts so fine that these graphs shake the world, will widely, perhaps Mr Nigel Sam, who can presumably afford one costs (£215.50), and presumably needs a new toy, Michael Malik, "Black House" having long since collapsed, will buy one—or a dozen.

We take up a Michael Malik, make him what he already was, need never have become. We see our oaths by John Lennon; we see that a photograph of some white on black paper has shaken the world, and we know the world, will, when the world goes up in flames, the camera-lens that shook it is crying in the heat, and the real gods like Mao Tse-tung are enticed above the framework of the world to cry out in warning, why then, us remember that what was written our society is that it forgets men live by. And what men live by, not Michael Malik or Hakim Jamal, John Lennon, and what men live by, take photographs that shake the world.

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ITALSIDER IN 1973

Finsider Group

The General Meeting of Shareholders in ITALSIDER was held at the company's head office in Via Corsica 4, Genoa, on 30th April under the chairmanship of Enrico Redaelli Sprefico. The shareholders unanimously approved the reports by the Board of Directors and the Committee of Auditors, as well as the Balance Sheet and Profit and Loss Account at 31st December, 1973.

ITALSIDER's trading results during the previous year were satisfactory. The company's higher earnings that had been made possible by the more favourable market situation and its increased production, despite losses due to strikes during the first quarter, helped to offset the sharp rises in all costs and to create a profit margin.

Following L. 102,900 million provision for depreciation, the year ended with a profit of L. 19,800 million which, together with other balance sheet available funds, fully covered losses during previous years.

In 1973 ITALSIDER produced 9,141,000 metric tons of steel, 44% of total national output, while its turnover was L. 1,032,900 million.

The company's marketing policy was to satisfy the requirements of Italian industry to the extent possible: 90.6% of rolled steel was delivered to the home market, compared with 83.2% in 1972 and 79.9% in 1971. Deliveries to the Italian market rose by 21% over the preceding year, while exports fell by 38%. Prices on the internal market were held at levels that were generally lower than the average in outside countries.

Substantial new plant was constructed and commissioned in all factories, in particular in Taranto where works that will double the size of the iron and steel complex are due to be virtually completed in 1974. In all its production units, ITALSIDER is heavily committed towards finding a solution to ecological problems and improving working conditions.

On 31st December last year the company employed 49,000. The Directors' report stated that following settlement of the dispute on the renewal of the national engineering workers' labour contract, an additional agreement has also been reached on a supplementary contract between the company and its workers. ITALSIDER has concentrated its efforts on the vocational training of those in its employ, keeping them abreast of the latest developments.

Through continuous consultation with the unions, it has embarked upon concrete measures in this field under the new structure for its work force. The basic features of organisational reform have already been introduced, the aim being to achieve closer participation and maximum decentralisation of responsibilities.

Despite the general situation in which costs are constantly rising, especially the price of raw materials, the commissioning of new plant and more intensive use of recently installed equipment should enable ITALSIDER to compete increasingly effectively with the leading world iron and steel industries and to satisfy the growing need for steel in Italy, under what is hoped will be normal production conditions.

Following the resignation of Tullio Masturzo and Tullio Torchiani from the Board and the death of Domenico Taccone, Sanzio Dindotti, Prof. Salvatore Guidotti and Licio Quaranta were nominated by the General Meeting by acclamation as members of the Board to which they had already been co-opted.

The Meeting was attended by shareholders holding or representing 214,300,056 shares, equivalent to 82% of the share capital.

Many of the shareholders spoke in the course of the Meeting and replied to the questions raised by them given by the Chairman, Enrico Redaelli Sprefico, and the Managing Director, Luigi Pittaluga.



Pre-tax profits top £1 million
Confident of future

RESULTS
Turnover for the past year was higher by 37.6% and profits before tax increased by 70.5%. The dividend is the maximum permitted and a one-for-two scrip issue is proposed.

PROSPECTS
The Company has been quick to take advantage of the tremendous upsurge in the demand for civil engineering work associated with the discovery and exploitation of oil and natural gas in the North Sea. The current level of the order book will ensure a further increase in turnover this year and the future of the group is viewed with confidence.

	1974	1973	1972
Year ended 31st January			
Turnover	£'000	£'000	£'000
	15,180	11,015	8,787
Profit before Tax	1,052	617	271
Profit after Tax	550	360	171
Net Dividend	2,254p	2,10p	1,83p
Earnings per share	11.63p	7.62p	3.61p

F. J. C. LILLEY LIMITED
CIVIL ENGINEERING CONTRACTORS

The Annual General Meeting will be held in Glasgow at 12 noon on Tuesday 4th June 1974.

BANCO DI SICILIA

Chartered Bank with Head Office in Palermo
Capital and Reserve L. 92,775,175,916
CONSOLIDATED BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31st DECEMBER, 1973
(in millions of lire)

LIABILITIES		ASSETS	
Capital and reserve	92,038	Cash in hand and available	149,459
Special reserve	1,046	Investments	786,287
Development funds	83,894	Holdings and development loans	33,098
Registered bonds in issue	139,365	Advances in lire	2,321,133
Accounts and deposits in lire and in foreign currencies	2,437,593	Advances in foreign currencies	353,351
Debentures outstanding	777,041	Premises	19,974
Transferees of bills rediscounted and advances assigned	121,068	Customers' liabilities for guarantees forward securities and forward exchange transactions	233,109
Outstanding guarantees forward securities and forward exchange contracts	233,109	Provincial tax collection agencies	115,954
Provincial tax collection agencies	116,285	Sundry debtors and miscellaneous assets	516,346
Amortisation fund—premises	1,599	Accruals and prepayments	24,731
Sundry creditors and miscellaneous liabilities	467,441		
Accruals and prepayments	57,823		
Profit for the year	1,242		
	4,528,547	Total assets	4,529,547
Total	2,169,168	Liability and contra accounts	2,169,168
Liability and contra accounts	6,698,715		6,698,715

The General Board of the Bank, convened in ordinary session on 30 April, 1974, approved the balance sheet and accounts for 1973, the principal items being the following: the increase to Lit. 3,438,000 million (+27%) in funds entrusted to the Bank and the increase to Lit. 2,675,000 million (+28%) in ordinary and special loans. Banking and liquidity reserve assets reached Lit. 910,000 million. After the allocation of the net profits the Bank's capital funds totalled Lit. 92,775 million, of which Lit. 53,647 million represent reserves.

Marine engineers call for state finance to back seabed technology

By Roger Violeux
Energy Correspondent

A British oceanic authority to coordinate and stimulate the development of the marine engineering industry was suggested yesterday by the British National Committee on Ocean Engineering (BNCOE).

The suggestion comes in evidence to the study group set up by the Commons Select Committee on Science and Technology to investigate national policy on seabed engineering.

The development of underwater engineering techniques has been pushed into prominence by the discovery of offshore oil reserves in areas where the water is too deep for conventional production methods. Several solutions to the problems are being developed but, as yet, there is no coordinated policy.

BNCOE envisages that the

authority would be a statutory board supported by both the state and the marine engineering industry. The Government should allocate an annual budget in the region of £125m for the "support and development of Britain's participation in marine activities" matched by a similar amount from industry, it adds.

The £250m was related to the present rates of investment in these activities and the need to develop "big technology". At the head of the authority would be a prominent figure with at least as great a political and business stature as the chairman of the nationalised industries. He would have ready access to the Prime Minister and other senior ministers.

Overall responsibility for the authority would rest with the Secretary of State for Industry. The Government would provide a core income for the organisation and the remainder would

come from other Government departments or bodies—both private and public—for whom work was undertaken by the authority.

In its evidence the committee said: "While the principal aim of the BNCOE must be to promote the interest of professional engineers, and through them the public at large, we find in the field of ocean activities a situation which can only be improved by the actions of the Government to provide a framework within which engineers can work for the benefit of the community as a whole."

Seabed engineering was an extension of several existing branches of engineering in new interdisciplinary groupings, often on scales greater than had been encountered on land. There was the need to establish broad new interfaces to bring together the resources required and give them the impetus needed to make progress.

Rail-oriented Tunnel aim scorned by MP

By Michael Bailly
Transport Correspondent

This Government does not have money in abundance for "grandiose projects of national prestige" such as the Channel Tunnel, Mr Leslie Huchfield, MP, Labour's transport specialist, said yesterday. He questioned current attempts to help British Rail by making the project more rail-oriented.

"It is a little late in the day to promote the Channel Tunnel as the great saviour of British Railways," he told the eastern section of the Road Haulage Association in Ipswich. "The minister told the House a month ago that all the figures were being re-examined with a view to making the whole thing more rail-oriented, but I don't see how that can happen."

"Our treaty with the French

forbids the tunnel operating authority to discriminate between road and rail traffic and most of the estimates show that carrying cars and lorries on the rolling underwater motorway will be more profitable than straight train traffic. The Channel Tunnel Co, dominated by Rio Tinto-Zinc, aren't in this to help the railways; they're in it for the money. And a taxpayer's guarantee makes sure they can't lose out."

Financial stringency and the decision to put things like housing first meant there would be little money for transport—slender road and rail—under this government, Mr Huchfield said. Meanwhile the great debate still rages within the Labour movement on how the objective of a "coordinated, integrated transport system" should be achieved.

Insurance men say EEC 'vital for our future'

A strong plea for Britain's continued membership of the European Community Market came yesterday from Mr Francis Perkins, president of the Corporation of Insurance Brokers. "The choice as I see it is either for Britain to throw its full weight into the building of the United States of Europe or to face the possibility of becoming by the end of the century the peasants of Europe."

Investigations had shown that the growth of insurance kept in line with the pace of economic growth. "If the British economy were to decline—as I believe it would if we came out of the Community—then we are condemning ourselves to a reduced rate of business at home and an inability to retain our position in world insurance."

"I believe that our continued membership of the Community is utterly vital to our future."

Mr Perkins, who was addressing the CIB's annual meeting in London, said he saw the European Commission as a "persuader" of governments. "It cannot, need not and, indeed, must not accept or expect industrial, commercial, legal or fiscal changes from individual governments for which there is no political will."

Mr Perkins stressed the importance of the British insurance industry to the national economy, as evidenced by its £424m contribution to invisible income in 1972.

Recent research had shown that more than £1,000m a year in premium income from overseas flowed into the United Kingdom markets as a result of insurance brokers' activities. "The CIB was conscious of the need for an even better basis of understanding with Whitehall," he said.

FMC chief speaks out for British aid policy

Sir John Stratton, president of FMC, called yesterday for a five-year plan with annual reviews to overcome cyclical phases in most production.

"It is too much to hope that our minister can start by selling his ideas to his colleagues to solve the long-term problem, while at the same time obtaining agreement to plug the obvious short-term holes?" he asked.

John said at the opening of a new auditor at Castle Bromwich, that succeeding governments had been "consistently faint-hearted and guilty of short-term thinking on the question of money supplies."

Although Britain's system of guaranteed payments had often been derided as if it was a charity to farmers, now that it had been abandoned because of EEC entry it could be seen as the instrument of a coherent food policy. The stability, order and security it had brought had disappeared with it.

Vehicle exhaust system said to offer economies

A vehicle exhaust system which is claimed to cut fuel costs, reduce noise level and lessen pollution has been developed by a small Leeds company and is being evaluated by Leeds University.

The system, developed by the men who have developed the system, Mr Arthur Heysham and Mr John Patrick, partners in Precision Equipment (Leeds), originally developed a silencer which cut noise levels by up to 15 per cent.

Business appointments

Mr R. Thornton as Debenhams' chief executive

Mr R. C. Thornton has been elected to the board of Debenhams and will become chief executive of the group on July 1. [Business diary, page 23]

Mr R. F. Nicholas has been made managing director of the Midland Electric Manufacturing Co. Mr Alec Russell joined the board of the Princes Group.

Mr E. R. Cook and Mr D. J. Welch have become executive directors of Bankers Trust International and Mr C. M. Canal Jr and Mr R. P. Reddy are to be non-executive directors.

Mr W. B. Rowland has become managing director of the Benson Publishing Group's trade book division and Mr R. J. Chopping has been made managing director of the group.

Mr Ben Franklin has become a director of Dalgety Potatoes. Mr Geoffrey Farrington, chairman and managing director of Crimpell, has become chairman of the British Turnovers Association in succession to Mr Tom Fraser, managing director of Chapman Fraser.

Mr Owen Green, managing director of ETC, has been named as president of the British Rubber Manufacturers' Association. He succeeds J. F. Swanborough, managing director of the Avon Rubber Co, who returns as president after a second term.

Mr D. Wilson, of Walsall Conduits, has been elected chairman of the British Electrical Systems Association, and Mr M. T. Gilbert, of Gilflex Conduits, has been chosen as chairman.

Mr P. E. West has been named managing director of the Property, Equity and Life Assurance Co. Mr W. C. Lynch, seconded from the British Electrical Systems Association, has been named managing director of the group. The other directors are Sir Basil Groulding (chairman), Mr W. J. C. Milne (Finance), Mr J. MacNaughton (Sales) and Mr E. R. Kelly (P & O).

Mr W. L. Hodges (Irish Shipyard), Mr W. C. Foxcourt and Mr H. R. Harrison have joined the board of Heywood Williams as technical director and personnel director respectively. Mr W. L. Matter has become managing director of Notte Brodie & Co. Mr A. Porter managing director of P. B. Kirk (Construction) and Mr R. Kirk (Construction) and Mr J. L. Fox and Mr R. W. Lowcock directors of E. B. Kirk (Construction). Mr R. E. Rasche becomes chairman of R. Rasche & Co and B. B. Kirk (Construction). Mr M. S. Hamed and Mr R. W. Moore have been named executive vice-presidents of the Kansas Aircraft Co of Wichita, Kansas. They will serve on the board and the executive committee.

Commercial Union Assurance Company Limited

The Annual General Meeting of Commercial Union Assurance Company Limited was held yesterday in London. The Chairman, Mr F. E. P. Sandilands, addressing shareholders commented on the 1974 first quarter's results. He said:

Our net written Fire, Accident and Marine premiums are £192 million against £159 million for the first quarter of last year but the two figures are not strictly comparable because this year we are consolidating the figures of "Delta-Lloyd" which has contributed just over £13 million of premiums. There is an unwinding loss for the first quarter of this year of £4.5 million, which includes a loss of £800,000 from "Delta-Lloyd", against £6.8 million last year.

Investment income contributes £16.1 million, which includes £1.8 million from "Delta-Lloyd", against £11.5 million last year. Life profits and our share of associated company profits amount to £1.1 million compared with £1.3 million last year. After deducting loan interest and minorities the pre-tax profit comes out at £8 million against £2.7 million a year ago. After providing for taxation the net profit is £4.5 million against £1.8 million and earnings per share are 2.22p against .9p.

These much better results are due first to an improvement in our underwriting experience in most parts of the world though in Canada the Fire experience has deteriorated; and we have taken a more cautious view of our current Australian results than we did a year ago and have not drawn upon the provision for 1974 losses in that country that we made in the accounts for the year 1973. While there is an unwinding loss in the United States which is usual in the first quarter, our experience there is substantially unchanged.

The second reason for our better results is that investment income is continuing to benefit from the prevailing high interest rates and also from the sales of U.S. Equities early in 1973 and the re-investment of the proceeds in short term bonds.

The results for the first quarter of any year should not be regarded as a guide to those for the year as a whole but it is nonetheless satisfactory to report that we have made a good start in 1974.

I have already paid tribute in my Review of last year's results to our management and staff throughout the world. Mr Dunlop and his senior management team, both here in head office and in our operating divisions in the many countries where we do business, bear a very heavy burden of responsibility and a formidable heavy work load. It is due to their tireless efforts and determination that the extremely creditable results which we have had before us to-day are largely due and I know the shareholders will wish me to thank them all on their behalf.

Results for the three months ended 31st March 1974

The following are the estimated and unaudited results of the Company for the three months to the 31st March 1974 together with comparative figures for the same period to the 31st March 1973 and the actual results for the year 1973.

	3 months to 31 March 1974 (Estimate)	3 months to 31 March 1973 (Estimate)	Year 1973 (Actual)
Net Written Premiums	191.7	159.3	642.2
Underwriting			
Fire, Accident and Marine	(-).45	(-).68	(-).55
Investment Income	16.1	11.5	59.5
Life Assurance Profits	.8	.7	2.7
Share of Associated Company's Profits	.3	.6	2.6
Trading Profit	12.7	6.0	59.3
Loan Interest	4.5	3.1	15.5
Minorities	.2	.2	.7
	4.7	3.3	16.2
Profit before Taxation	8.0	2.7	43.1
Taxation	3.5	.9	16.7
Profit after Taxation	4.5	1.8	26.4
Earnings per Share	2.22p	.90p	12.99p

As usual, the results of the Company's overseas operations have been converted at rates of exchange ruling at the close of the periods reported above. As announced at the end of April, we have sold 36% of our Head Office, St. Helen's, to three major U.K. Pension Funds for approximately £30.0m.

20th May 1974

Insure with
Commercial Union Assurance



INTERIM STATEMENT

WOOLWORTH

Interim Report

Three months ended 30th April 1974

The Board of Directors present the following statement of profit of the company and its subsidiaries for the three months ended 30th April 1974 with comparative figures for 1973/1974:

	3 months ended 30th April 1974	3 months ended 30th April 1973	4 months ended 30th April 1973	13 months ended 31st Jan. 1974
Total turnover (note 1)	37,829	31,813	117,483	462,575
Less Value added tax	5,855	2,187	2,187	22,894
Turnover (excluding value added tax)	31,774	28,826	115,296	439,681
Trading profit before depreciation	6,224	8,208	9,916	48,225
Less depreciation of fixed assets	1,718	1,022	1,383	4,765
Interest paid less received	6,108	7,188	8,533	43,460
Rents received	(553)	(743)	11	(1,120)
Profits on sale of properties and investments after adjusting for depreciation of investments	70	85	83	294
Profit before taxation	4,673	7,446	9,136	43,310
Taxation (note 2)	2,430	3,500	4,300	19,884
Profit after taxation	2,243	3,946	4,836	23,426

Notes: 1. Value added tax commenced on 1st April 1973 and has been included in total turnover to make comparison with the earlier periods shown in the statement above, for part of which sales included purchase tax.

2. Corporation tax has been provided at the rate of 52% for the 3 months ended 30th April 1974, compared with the composite rate of 47.2% for the earlier periods shown in the statement above.

Due to the effects of the three-day week on consumer spending and the difficulties in obtaining some supplies, sales during the period were insufficient to offset the very heavy increases in both wage costs and general operating costs.

The present profit margins are already within the reference levels permitted by recent legislation which therefore does not immediately affect the company. However the full implications of the legislation on the retail trade as a whole have yet to emerge and it is too early to make any firm prediction as to profits for the full financial year.

F. W. WOOLWORTH AND CO. LIMITED
Woolworth House, 242/244, Marylebone Road, London NW1 6JL

For new of e

First three

1974 First quarter
Second quarter
Third quarter
Fourth quarter

For the future: new investment, greater security of employment, bigger exports

Addressing stockholders at the 47th Annual General Meeting of Imperial Chemical Industries Limited, held in London on May 20th, the Chairman, Sir Jack Cullard, said: "You will have received the Annual Report for 1973 and I do not need to add much in the way of general comment on a very successful year—the best in ICI's history."

"Group profits speak for themselves: at £311 million before tax they were more than double those in 1972, and by a long way the highest we have ever achieved. I have two regrets: that because of inflation this is less than it seems, and that our results cannot be reflected—because of company-inflation legislation—in a dividend increase of more than five per cent over that paid last year."

INVALUABLE STRENGTHS

"For virtually the whole year the tide was going our way, with demand for our products running at a very high level in the United Kingdom, and throughout the world as a whole. We were able to turn this situation to good account because the policies and investments of previous years had given us invaluable strengths."

"We had the production capacity we needed, with nearly all plants working smoothly near their designed rate of output or above it."

"We had the markets: our spread of manufacturing interests overseas, and our world-wide export-outlets, meant that, while still serving customers in this country, we could benefit from the higher prices and opportunities elsewhere. More than half our profits and fifty-seven per cent of our sales were made overseas, and our exports rose by thirty-eight per cent. To Common Market countries they increased by sixty-three per cent, and whereas we do not claim this is a result of joining the EEC, the figure should be of interest to anyone who doubts the value to industry of Britain's membership."

"We had the products—the outcome of a vigorous research and capital programme. And we had the human resources—people of many skills and nationalities, progressively accounting for higher output per head and narrowing the productivity gap between ICI and the best of its competitors."

"These strengths are worth emphasising now because they will continue to be important to the Group's prosperity. When I talk of the Group's prosperity, I am not thinking just of the dividends we pay or the salaries we earn. I am thinking also of the jobs we provide, our contribution to the United Kingdom's national revenue, and our contribution to the balance of payments—a net £220 million last year. I am thinking, too, of the massive research effort we must mount in order to discover products such as our heart drugs, which have brought to some millions of people throughout the world the chance of a prolonged and more active life. I am pleased that, in these ways, the Com-

pany has contributed to the increase in wealth and health of this country and of the many countries in which we operate. The performance of our companies in Europe, Canada, the United States, Australasia and elsewhere has paralleled our activities here."

CASH POSITION

"I should like to comment on financial matters. Apart from the record profits, the return on assets employed was also a record at eighteen per cent."

"The charge for taxation, at £130 million, was considerably more than in 1972 because of the greater profits and higher tax rate. Credits to profits in respect of Government grants were little changed. After taxation and grants, and after allowing for the share of profits applicable to minorities and for preference dividends, the profit applicable to ICI ordinary stockholders was £183 million. This was almost exactly double the 1972 figure, and stockholders could quite reasonably have looked for significantly higher dividends, but, as I mentioned earlier, we are not permitted to increase them by more than five per cent over 1972's level of 14p (gross). You will know that the second dividend, paid on 5th April at the rate of 5.25p per share, was declared at a second interim because the Annual General Meeting had to be postponed and the Board wanted stockholders to receive their dividend at the normal time; you will be asked later in the Meeting to confirm it as the final dividend for the year."

"Mainly because of the much higher earnings and changes in the tax system affecting dividends, £134 million was retained for further development of the business—a figure higher than any in our history."

"There was a marked improvement in the Group's cash position during the year. Our requirements for new fixed capital expenditure and other investments amounted to £146 million. That was somewhat below recent levels, but the amount needed for additional working capital, £96 million, was considerably greater, largely because of the increased trading activity. These cash requirements were more than met from the funds generated directly by trading operations—due to easy, retentive plus depreciation. Taking into account other miscellaneous receipts and the proceeds of modest new borrowings overseas, the Group's liquid resources increased by £113 million to nearly £200 million. With capital expenditure in 1974 expected to be more than £200 million, and with the inevitable need for more working capital, our liquid position at the beginning of this year is a significant strength."

NEW INVESTMENT

"Our assessment of the future market for many of our major products suggests a continuing increasing demand, which calls for further investment. This seems a good moment to reiterate a simple economic truth—the direct relationship between profit and investment. The force of this often seems to be forgotten by people who create opinions in



this country without necessarily being close to the business world. In 1974, our profit before tax stood at £130 million, and in the following year we sanctioned new plants at a level of £99 million. After improved profits in 1972, our sanctions last year totalled £180 million; and this year, after record profits in 1973, we were, following a recent review of the capital programme, now planning to sanction expenditure of approximately £300 million—an increase of £50 million on the figure which I gave at our Press Conference in March."

"Governments are always interested in investment by industry, because it means growth and more jobs. I can assure the Government—and future ones, of whatever party—that in this Company a better profit performance leads to bigger and better investment plans. This I think brings me to the point when I ought to define more precisely what I mean by profit."

IMPACT OF INFLATION

"We are living in inflationary times—and all of us know only too well how quickly a £1 note seems to buy less and less. Inflation affects your Company just as much as it affects every one of us; let me try to explain as simply as I can the impact of inflation on the results for 1973."

"You will know that most companies' accounts are drawn up on what is termed the historical cost basis. This, quite simply, means that all past expenditure is recorded as the number of pounds and pence actually spent and all receipts are similarly recorded as the number of pounds and pence actually received. This sounds all right until you remember that the biggest single item of past expenditure which affects this year's accounts is the money spent in earlier years on fixed assets, mainly buildings, plant and equipment. In the accounts, this expenditure is deducted from profits over a period of years corresponding to the working life of the assets and is called depreciation. But, because this depreciation is based on the out-of-date past cost of the plants and the cost of new plants is rising rapidly, the total sums set aside as depreciation are now too small to provide for the replacement of the plants when they are worn out. If depreciation is understated, then profits must be overstated. This means that the profit retained in the business—the level of which may appear to be abnormally high—has got to be sufficient not only to finance some element of growth of the business but also to meet the heavy additional cost of replacing obsolete assets."

"Moreover, because the assets are shown in the Balance Sheet at historical cost, the profits of the year, when expressed as a percentage of those assets, give a figure which is artificially high. It is essential that we do not delude ourselves when looking at such figures; the proper comparison is, therefore, between the profits of the year, which are in current pounds, and the cost in current pounds of replacing the assets which have earned those profits rather than with what the assets happened to have cost us years ago. To give you some indication of what the 1973 figures would look like if adjusted, we estimate first, that the £311 million Group profits before tax would have been some fifty millions of pounds less, and second, the profitability of the business, shown as eighteen per cent on page 39 of the Annual Report, would have been several

percentage points lower. Bearing in mind the present cost of new money, you will see that in real terms our 1973 profitability is no more than adequate for the future prosperity of the business."

"Inflation also affects working capital, that is broadly the raw materials we hold for use in our productive processes. When raw material prices are rising, we can only replace those we use at higher cost, and so have to employ more cash."

"But the problem does not stop there. Because our business is growing, the volume of raw materials we have to carry is increasing all the time, so that still more cash is required. This extra cash has to come from profits retained in the business—yet another need for adequate profits."

"The accountancy profession has recently issued a provisional accounting standard encouraging public companies to publish supplementary statements showing what the results would be after adjusting for inflation. The standard is called 'provisional' because a Government committee has been set up under the Chairmanship of Mr. Francis Sandilands with a wide remit to enquire into whether and by what method company accounts should be adjusted for inflation. This committee is actively collecting evidence, but it is not expected to report for some time. I believe that we, as a company, have a duty to ensure that the full effects of inflation are brought home to all who are interested in the profitability and viability of industry, although there are differing views about the best way to do this. Your Board will be giving the most careful thought to this problem during the coming months."

PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS IN 1974

"You will want me now to give you some idea of our prospects for 1974. I am glad to tell you that our progress has been maintained. Our first quarter results have just been delivered to the Stock Exchange and I will give you the essential figures as published by the Board this morning. Total sales were £661 million, that is thirty-six per cent higher than in the first quarter last year; sales in the United Kingdom were £273 million, an increase of twenty-four per cent, and those overseas were £388 million, a forty-five per cent increase. Profits before tax were £122 million, and this compares with £63 million for the corresponding quarter of last year and £92 million for the fourth quarter. Exports from the United Kingdom increased most of all and totalled £154 million, far and away the highest figure in the history of the Company. My earlier remarks about the effects of inflation apply with even greater force to these first quarter results."

"The important thing about these results is that they show how we have been able to benefit from our world-wide business and so to ride adverse conditions at home. Our market here, although it remained surprisingly good, was restricted by the energy crisis and three-day week, but we have many other markets; and because we had our own electrical generating capacity for a large part of our needs, we could maintain a high volume of output at home to supply these markets."

"As for the rest of 1974, the picture is far from clear. It is impossible to predict with any certainty the precise level of demand for our products, both at home and abroad, and our prosperity is dependent on the maintenance of

high output. We are concerned particularly that world trade stays at a high level and that the volume of trade is not adversely affected by the financial problems resulting from the higher prices of oil and other raw materials. One certainty is that our bill for raw materials will be higher than last year's—by about £180 million in the United Kingdom alone. We shall hope to recover these extra costs in higher selling prices at home and overseas, but there is no guarantee of this. I spoke last year about the disparity between the prices we could charge in the United Kingdom, restricted by the Government's counter-inflation legislation, and the prices we could get overseas. Nothing has happened to alter this situation—in fact, for many products the disparity has grown as free market prices have climbed. Our current investment plans have been made on the assumption that prices here cannot be held below world prices for much longer, but, if the distortion is allowed to continue, it is bound to affect our plans."

INCREASED COSTS

"A large part of the increase in raw materials costs will be accounted for by oil, which has quadrupled in price since mid-1973. Although we have not been seriously hampered so far by shortage of oil for feedstock or fuel, there is still some uncertainty about supplies. In the longer term—and I must emphasise that I am not talking now of this year, or even next—we should have an assured source for at least part of our supplies. We have a twenty-six per cent share in the Burmah Oil Company consortium which has recently announced a find of commercial quantities of oil in the North Sea off the Shetland Isles, and while much remains to be done before we can benefit, I must say that this news is most encouraging."

"The March Budget has raised the cost of many services such as electricity and transport, and of employers' National Insurance contributions; it has also increased the direct burden of Corporation Tax and diminished our cash flow because of increased Advance Corporation Tax payments. Changes are also being considered in the legislation affecting wages and salaries, and I must remind you that we are only permitted to pass on part of any increase in remuneration costs in our selling prices."

CONTRIBUTION TO ECONOMY

"These are some of the factors and possibilities that must be taken into account when considering our performance during the remainder of 1974. The year has started well, and we believe that overall it will be a good one. However, views differ over the level of trade generally during the second half of this year. We are optimistic about the future and we have already sanctioned a number of major projects this year, despite the uncertainty which the Government has created for private industry."

"Over the years, ICI has made an ever-growing contribution to the national economy and, if left to get on with the job, I believe it will continue to do so, providing new investment, and hence greater security of employment, and even bigger export earnings."

DIRECTORATE

"Turning now to the Board, there have been several changes since our last Meeting. March saw the retirement after long service of Sir Michael Clapham, one of our Deputy Chairmen, and Mr. George Whitby, an executive Director. We shall miss the advice and experience of both. Sir Michael's services as President of the Confederation of British Industry were recognised last year by the award of a KBE—an honour that gave great pleasure to all his colleagues. In January this year Mr. G. D. A. Kiljarske was appointed a non-executive Director. Mr. Kiljarske is Chairman of Unilever N.V. and a Vice-Chairman of Unilever Limited, and we are fortunate to have the benefit of his advice. We must also congratulate him on receiving an Honorary KBE this year. More recently, Mr. Robert Haslam, previously Chairman of Fibres Division, has joined the Board as an executive Director."

TRIBUTE TO EMPLOYEES

"Finally, I know you will join me in congratulating the Group's employees throughout the world for their part in achieving last year's splendid results. I believe we should also take this opportunity to say a special word of thanks to those in the United Kingdom; their willingness to improvise and to put up with all sorts of difficulties and discomforts, was the crucial factor in bringing us so successfully through the state of emergency earlier this year."



First three months' results 1974

Unaudited figures of trading results

1973	Year	1974
First Quarter	£ millions	First Quarter
487	2166	661
63	311	122
37	157	40
-22	-112	-54
2	9	4
43	208	72
-4	-24	-5
39	184	67

Group sales in the first quarter of 1974 amounted to £661m which is 36% higher than in the corresponding quarter last year. Sales in the U.K. increased from £273m to £273m (up 24%) and those overseas from £287m to £388m (up 45%). The total value of exports rose from £93m in the first quarter 1973 to £154m in the current quarter (up 66%); this included exports to EEC which rose by 93%. Thus, the substantial increase in Group sales was due mainly to sales made overseas both from local manufacture and from U.K. exports.

Similarly about two-thirds of the record Group profits in the first quarter arose from business overseas, especially exports from the U.K., on which margins were substantially higher than on home sales. Demand in the U.K. was somewhat restricted by the energy crisis and the three day week but, helped by our own electrical generating capacity, output was maintained at a high volume, thus enabling us to increase supplies to overseas markets.

The following table summarises the quarterly sales and profits before taxation.

Group sales	Group profit before tax
£ millions	£ millions
1973 First quarter 487	63
Second quarter 537	74
Third quarter 551	82
Fourth quarter 591	92
2166	311
1974 First quarter 661	122

The charge for taxation in the first quarter of 1974 consists of £40 million of corporation tax, £12 million overseas tax and £5 million of tax on principal associated companies, less credits of £4 million for investment grants.

Process plant order boom predicted

By Peter Hill

Huge investment in process plant is likely over the next three years, according to forecasts made yesterday. The Process Plant Working Party of the National Economic Development Office says it expects investment to exceed by £50m a year the 1966-68 boom period.

A preliminary report by the working party says that investment in plant by United Kingdom process industries—including oil exploration and production—is likely to reach about £700m annually at late 1973 prices, while expressed in constant 1970 prices, investment would total £550m compared with £500m in the previous peak period.

But, serious concern has been

expressed at the shortage of skilled labour in the process plant industry. There is a desperate need for a substantial increase in the number of qualified scientists, engineers, draughtsmen and other technicians, it was stated.

In the previous "shake-out" in the industry, thousands of workers left for new jobs while as many as 35 process plant suppliers either went out of business, or moved into more stable areas.

Commenting on the shortage of skilled labour, Sir Frederick Warner, the working party's chairman, said: "We need 20,000 more men—you tell me where we are going to get them from."

The working party said the forecasts might understate the long-term demand, since they

did not take account of development of oil and gas fields which had yet to be proved commercially. In the shorter term there could be difficulty in achieving the increased levels of expenditure.

It stressed that the increase in forecast expenditure was mainly caused by a big upward revision of chemical industry forecasts, oil exploration and production and production of gas from the Frigg field.

On the chemical industry's plans, the report points to a level of investment at current prices of £172m this year, rising to £184m next year and £178m in 1976. It indicated a continuation of the four to five-year cyclical pattern of investment.

Investment in plant for offshore oil exploration and production last year at £110m was

£55m lower than forecast, but the working party said expenditure this year was forecast at between £180m and £220m.

Expenditure is expected to remain high until 1977, followed by a decline, although further oil discoveries could lead to expenditure being spread into 1978 and beyond.

Expenditure by the gas industry is expected to be 60 per cent higher between 1974/75 than forecast a year ago, while investment by the British Steel Corporation—which was 20 per cent below forecast levels last year—is also expected to fall below previous forecasts.

The process plant industry is competitive with its international rivals in price and delivery and demand prospects, the report said, and more encouraging than for many years.

No plan to nationalize BLMC—Lord Stokes

Lord Stokes, chairman of British Leyland, and two senior members of his board have had a two-and-a-half-hour meeting with Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the Secretary of State for Industry, to discuss the Labour Government's attitude to the motor industry and British Leyland's prospects.

The meeting, and an outline of the discussion which took place, are revealed in the current issue of the corporation's newspaper *British Leyland Mirror*.

It reports that Lord Stokes told a private meeting of 400 managers and shop stewards representing all 59 United Kingdom factories that "there have been no talks with the Government on the possible nationalization of British Leyland. The meeting was planned a considerable time ago and there was nothing ulterior in it. We wanted the opportunity to talk with Tony Benn about government policy in the future."

He said these talks took place regularly with the Conservative Government and the Labour Government before that.

"Any company the size of British Leyland must be in close consultation with the Government. I would welcome even closer contact because far too often in the past governments have operated in economic matters quite at variance with the long-term prospects of the motor industry."

But in a statement clearly intended to squash support for militant shop stewards who advocate nationalization as the panacea for British Leyland's ailments, he declared: "Nobody is going to nationalize or bail out a company that is inefficient or going bust."

Surge in world steel output

World raw steel production in the first four months of this year rose by 2.5 per cent, compared with the corresponding period last year, but United Kingdom output, reflecting the effects of the three day week, the fuel crisis and industrial disputes was substantially down.

Figures issued yesterday by the International Iron and Steel Institute, whose members account for about 98 per cent of total world production, show that output for the four-month period amounted to 159.80 million tonnes compared with 155.87 million tonnes in the corresponding period of 1973.

Production in April in ISI member countries totalled 39.87 million tonnes, an increase of 1.2 per cent over April last year. United Kingdom steel production in April at 1.96 million tonnes was 10.7 per cent less

than in the same month last year, when output amounted to 2.19 million tonnes. Over the four-month period, United Kingdom output was 19.5 per cent below the level for the corresponding period of last year at 7.26 million tonnes.

The ISI said that United States production over the four-month period was also down on a year earlier by 0.7 per cent to 44.92 million tonnes, while output in April was 2.7 per cent less than a year earlier.

Japanese production recorded an increase of 1.3 per cent in April compared with a year earlier, while in the four-month period, output increased by 2.2 per cent on the 1973 level.

The original six members of the EEC achieved increases well above the average, amounting to an improvement on the April figure of 9.2 per cent, and for

the four-month period, an increase of 12.8 per cent.

Steel strikes inquiry: An inquiry opened yesterday into the reasons behind the series of disputes at the Ilwaco steelworks of the British Steel Corporation. The hearings, which are in private, are expected to last for two days, and the report of the 12-member joint management and union committee is expected to be submitted to Mr. Anthony Wedgwood Benn, Secretary of State for Industry.

The inquiry was implemented following the second production standstill at the plant earlier this year, which led to the RSC warning that the plant would not be reopened until all the unions at the plant gave assurances about their future conduct. Last year the plant was hit by more than 30 stoppages, which cost an estimated £10m in lost production.

Barclays to open six push-button 'mini-banks'

Barclays Bank is to take delivery of six NCR "self-service" financial terminals worth £90,000 later this year as part of an evaluation programme which may eventually lead to their installation as "mini-banks" at a wide range of outlets.

The terminals allow the customer to pay in as well as draw cash, transfer funds from one account to another, establish his current account balance and make other inquiries.

The terminals, which will be manufactured in Dundee, can be operated either on an "on-line" or "stand-alone" basis. In either case the customer will insert a magnetic-strip card, press out a code number, select the transaction he wishes to undertake and receive a printed receipt of that transaction.

Shopkeepers call for levy on home-based businesses

A register and levy for people operating a business from their homes was called for yesterday by Mr. Tom Lynch, president of the National Union of Small Shopkeepers.

Speaking at the union's annual conference at Hastings, he said this move would be aimed at controlling the thousands of mail order agents in Britain.

He said shopkeepers throughout the country had always been opposed to this sort of trading, but their protests had "fallen on deaf ears". He thought that such home-based firms should pay an annual levy for each agent representing them.

"Thousands of agents in Britain are operating on a commission basis and are representing mail order firms who distribute catalogues on a wide basis", he explained.

"Such mail order business is extremely lucrative to mail order firms. Unfortunately, it is also a major source of competition for local shopkeepers in every city and town where mail order agents are operating."

Mr. Lynch also urged that the Government rethink its ideas on the bread subsidy in view of the price reductions being offered by some large stores.

"We are told by the bakery industry that the subsidy is vital if the price of the larger loaf is to be kept down to 14p. Now, some of the large retailers are cutting the price of the large loaf to 12p from 14p to 12p."

"One must ask: 'Why the need for a subsidy?' and 'Who is kidding whom?' Why not a 2p price reduction on the large loaf for everybody instead of a handful of large retailers being able to sell their own product?" Mr. Lynch asked.

Italy reveals record 714,000m lire deficit

From John Earle, Rome, May 20

The deterioration in the Italian economy which prompted the imposition of an import deposit scheme is revealed with the publication of a record 714,000m lire (£476m) deficit in the balance of payments for March. It compares with a February deficit of 475,000m lire.

Figures published at the same time by the Bank of Italy show a rise in the net official reserves from 2,800,800m lire at the end of February to 2,834,500m lire at the end of March.

The improvement, however, appears on the basis of the information provided to have been due to drawing on standby facilities from the International Monetary Fund.

Support facilities were also provided by other European Community central banks during March to the extent of 1,563m units of account or 1,173,000m lire.

Signor Rumor, the Prime Minister, is making the collaboration of the trade unions in meeting this worsening situation.

After a meeting with union leaders last week, the publicly stated policy of the Government is being unable to raise any further credit lines abroad and the consequent danger of a "ruinous recession".

The unions, who in effect have declared a truce with the Government, are expected to meet in the next few weeks in their campaign for structural reforms, are to have detailed talks between now and June 6 with Signor Giolitti, the budget minister, on five specific subjects—agriculture, transportation, house building, health and pensions.

On June 6 they are scheduled to meet Signor Rumor again to discuss prices, capital investment policies, development of the mezzogiorno, and taxation.

The 50 per cent import deposit scheme was introduced at the end of April on about 40 per cent of Italy's imports. Italy's EEC partners are pressing for it to be waived on most agricultural products, but so far the Government is resisting this pressure.

Motor trades 9 pc down in first quarter

Total turnover of the motor trades in the first quarter of 1974 was 9 per cent less than a year earlier, according to a survey by the Motor Vehicle Sales Federation.

The fall reflects the problems arising from the energy situation, which had only partially affected the previous quarter.

Sales of new vehicles in the first quarter this year were 10 per cent less than a year earlier, while used vehicle sales fell even more sharply, by 28 per cent.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The CBI: in touch with members and up to date

From Mr. Nicholas Tate

Sir, As the director administratively responsible for the CBI membership relations, may I reduce the criticisms, implied or explicit, which have recently appeared in your columns that the CBI was out of touch with its members and therefore "cannot speak for them."

In addition to its head office staff, who service the 400-strong council and some 30 policy-making standing committees, with an aggregate membership of well over 1,000 representatives of member companies, trade associations and employers' organizations, most of which meet monthly, CBI has 10 regional offices with 41 administrative staff.

These regional offices are responsible for 12 regional councils—three are serviced from London—with a membership varying between 24 and 48 each, who are elected by the regional membership and which meet bi-monthly or quarterly.

Each regional chairman has an advisory committee to advise on policy matters between council meetings, and each council has a number of specialist and/or area committees.

The regional staff spend much of their time visiting companies. Their reports are carefully monitored.

During March, for example, the regional staff made a total of 861 personal visits, 595 to members and 266 to non-members.

This was a reasonably typical month, and though I am not satisfied that this is the best that could be done, the fact remains that every month up to 1,000 companies outside the formalized policy-making structure have a chance to discuss CBI policy and their problems with a member of our regional staff. He has usually been briefed to obtain information on specific problems and opinions as well as reporting on points raised by the company concerned.

It will not come as any surprise to your readers to know that during March the topic most frequently raised by companies was raw material and component shortages.

With respect, Sir, I do not think that any allegation that we are out of touch with our membership or industry as a whole can be substantiated.

Yours faithfully,
NICHOLAS TATE,
Regional & Smaller Firms Director,
Confederation of British Industry,
21 Tottill Street,
London SW1.

Hypermarkets and petrol costs

From Mr. Harvey Cole

Sir, Mr. L. E. S. Seamey (May 15) quotes part of the evidence I gave to a recent public inquiry into a proposed hypermarket, but does so in such a way as to imply that my contention was actually quite different from that which I was in fact advancing.

I did say that if the average hypermarket user travelled 16 miles as a round trip (a distance which I explicitly stated was not the case), the low side annual petrol consumption would be less than 1 million gallons—assuming 2 million visits. However, I also pointed out:

1. That this is not a net increase in consumption since many motorists who use a hypermarket could be made, in its absence, to other centres by car.

2. That the additional distance travelled might be eight miles as a maximum, but that the additional consumption of petrol would be less than this because of the heavy consumption involved in travelling in town centre traffic.

Places, and searching for parking. The hypermarket system of direct supply of goods from manufacturers creates appreciable savings of fuel for delivery vehicles.

4. That, compared with an annual consumption of around 4,500 million gallons of petrol, the net increase attributable to a hypermarket—and which must be contrasted with the substantial other resource savings it can achieve—would not amount to more than 0.05 per cent of national consumption. In other words, there would have to be 200 hypermarkets before they increased our petrol usage by 1 per cent.

There are those who say that the petrol crisis is now the main objection to hypermarkets. Strangely enough, those who say this are opposed to hypermarkets, and not, as one might have thought, supporters.

Yours etc,
HARVEY COLE,
Economic and Development Consultant,
9 Clifton Road,
Winchester,
May 15.

Feed freeze

From Mr. C. G. Shaw

Sir, Why should anyone be "put out" by the proposed feed restrictions? Cannot people understand that they are, quite simply, too expensive?

Furthermore, there is a level of price at which a meal, no matter how well-cooked, is just not worth it. Manufacturers of all kinds have found it too easy to assume that they will sell their goods whatever price increase they put on them.

In the catering industry, there is a chance for the public to hit back by withdrawing its custom, and the effects can be felt very quickly. A very good thing too.

Yours faithfully,
C. G. SHAW,
38 Hazlewell Road,
London SW15.

Protest defined

From Mr. V. R. Lyddiard

Sir, I was interested to read in *Business Diary* (May 10) of the confusion over the term "protest."

I suggest that this does not refer to the bank's charging an unpaid item back to the customer, which it would do in any event. As I understand it, "protest" is a legal process, usually carried out by a notary public, to establish that a bill or cheque has been presented and dishonoured, and forms a basis for subsequent action against the parties liable on the instrument.

Yours faithfully,
V. R. LYDDIARD,
99 Moorpark Drive,
Sutton Coldfield,
Warwickshire.

Second biggest bankruptcy since war shocks Japan

Tokyo, May 20.—Nihon Netsugaku Kogyo KK, and its chief subsidiary, Aeromaster Co., today asked the Osaka district court to appoint a receiver under Japan's corporate rehabilitation law.

The firms manufacture, sell and rent package airconditioners, and supply air conditioning and heating systems for buildings. They had combined liabilities estimated at 62,000m yen (\$32m).

Although full details were not immediately available, the case appeared to constitute Japan's largest bankruptcy since the war.

The previous record was set by Sanyo Special Steel Co., which underwent reorganization in 1965 with 4,500m yen in liabilities.

Nihon Netsugaku's action shocked the Japanese financial community as the company's shares had been listed on the first section of the Tokyo Stock Exchange on May 1.

The share price, which traded at 1,500 yen on the second section earlier this year, declined sharply last week on rumours of financial difficulties. It last traded on Friday, at 690, down 100 from Thursday.

Some foreign investors, principally British, were left holding Nihon Netsugaku shares when trading ceased on the company announcement that it had filed for a receiver.

The Japanese Finance Ministry said that at December 31 last, the firms had 41 foreign investors holding Nihon Netsugaku shares, 38 of which were institutions. Brokers said foreigners did not appear to be selling during the past week, and one source said he had heard of some fairly substantial foreign purchases just before rumours of financial difficulties appeared in the market.

J. Henry Schroder Wagg was one British merchant bank listed as holding 3 per cent of Nihon Netsugaku shares last summer. But Mr. Kenneth Morse, the firm's local representative, said the entire holding was disposed of during the winter.

Nihon Netsugaku and Aeromaster were in receivership after they failed to raise funds to buy back about 1,900m yen of trade bills dishonoured when they fell due on Saturday.—AP-Dow Jones.

Closure threat to mills over waste paper shortage

Waste paper stock levels held by many mills have reached a "dangerously low level" and many are facing a situation which could lead to closure.

The Joint Waste Paper Advisory Council said yesterday that although there was an increasing public awareness of the need to recycle waste paper this had not been reflected in the tonnage reaching mills.

In the first three months of the year the tonnage of waste paper reaching mills, the council said, was only 27 per cent more than in the corresponding period last year.

Consumption of all grades of waste paper was at a very high level during February and March.

Total consumption of waste paper by the industry in the first quarter of the year amounted to 528,314 tonnes—a fall of 7.66 tonnes compared with 1973. Production of paper and board was 32,279 tonnes less than last year's first quarter of 1,173,057 tonnes.

VW in Britain to buy S American spares

Volkswagen Great Britain is to import spare parts from its factories in Brazil and Mexico to replace more expensive German components. The switch is expected to cut the retail price of many spares in Britain by 20 per cent. The first spares will arrive in September.

Higher charges causing drift from Port of London

The Port of London is losing traffic because of the higher charges introduced in January, British Importers Confederation said yesterday.

Some charges have gone up by nearly 50 per cent said the confederation, which represents 3,500 importers, and goods are now being diverted to other ports. The PLA declined yesterday to agree to reductions in response to BIC representations though they did agree to discuss special rates for very large consignments.

A BIC spokesman said later: "Traffic is going away from London quite rapidly to Avonmouth and other smaller ports where the service is better and the costs cheaper. Many of our importers would like to see London but spiralling costs are forcing them away."

Anglo-Soviet talks begin in London

A group of 20 Soviet economic experts started three days of talks with British ministers and businessmen yesterday. Mr. Vladimir Kirillina, the Deputy Prime Minister, led the team in the first plenary session of the Anglo-Soviet Joint Commission at Lancaster House.

JUDICIAL SALE BY TENDER

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF ONTARIO

BETWEEN: NATIONAL TRUST COMPANY, LIMITED

and BARCELONA TRACTION, LIGHT AND POWER COMPANY, LIMITED

Plaintiff and Defendant

The Sidro Company has issued the following communication:

The public sale by tenders, in one parcel, of the stock and bonds constituting the portfolio of Barcelona Traction has been published at the order of the Court of Ontario and announced in the press. This sale represents the outcome of the legal action brought in Canada, following the bankruptcy of this company in Spain, by the National Trust Company of Toronto, trustee for the Prior Lien Bonds and First Mortgage Bonds. The aim of this legal action was the nomination of a Receiver and Manager, acting for the Court and responsible for the administration of the property of Barcelona Traction, consisting principally of its portfolio which constituted the security for the Bonds.

It will be recalled that under the bankruptcy proceedings there had been, with the agreement of the Spanish Courts, duplicates of the stock certificates of subsidiary companies forming the portfolio of Barcelona Traction, which were then offered for sale in Spain and adjudicated in 1952 to Fueros Eilicadas de Cataluna.

For many years, the Receiver, as instructed by the Court, attempted, but failed, to restore the value of the portfolio of Barcelona Traction which the arbitrary measures taken in Spain had removed. In the meantime, the

A late first step in area of worker participation

From Professor Clive Schmitthoff
Sir, Dr. Frank A. Heller, Sir Malcolm Warner, Sir Peter Abell (May 14), are warmly welcome to the "preliminary step" of worker participation which have left it rather the day.

Exhaustive research already been done, an result has been published CBI and the TUC have listed the result of its search. An international quinquennial in which professor eight foreign countries held at the University of in 1972. It was arranged British National Commi Comparative Law and pened to be its chairm universities were published year under the title "I monisation of European pany Law".

Much other comparat search has likewise been. The former Govt has indicated the public White Paper on Company Reform, published in Jul and the present Govt has promised early action. Naturally the view expressed is a subjective pejorative "arbitrary" called for one although found on the available parative material and take as the apparent con of British opinion. So our views.

A subjective view, he is better than no view. The letter of Mr. Chris Mils (May 14) and other which I have received at least a view, although do not agree fully with conclusions, and thus m valuable contribution to debate which it was my duty to initiate.

Unfortunately the last three writers to whom referring refrains from esing a view at all, in spite urgency of the need for debate.

Yours faithfully,
CLIVE M. SCHMITTHOFF
Visiting Professor of national Business Law a City University and the U of Kent,
29 Blenheim Road,
Bedford Park, London, W4.

HAROLD PERRY MOTORS LIMITED

Ford Main Dealers

1973 RESULTS

	1973	197
	£'000	£'00
GROUP TURNOVER	25,293	23,1
PROFIT BEFORE TAX	894	7
INCREASE IN RESERVES	421	2

Extracts from the review by the Chairman, Mr. J. F. Macgregor.

- * Profits in first full year as public company increase by 22% over 1972, despite supply shortages.
- * £270,000 profit in first quarter of 1974, less 10% below 1973.
- * Continuing growth in ancillary activities—sen and repair, parts, industrial engines, power pa self drive and contract hire, finance etc.
- * Group facing the future from a position of financial strength.

GO PERRYS

Copies of the Chairman's Review and the 1973 Report and Accounts can be obtained from the Secretary at 279, Balford Lane, London N12 8NS.

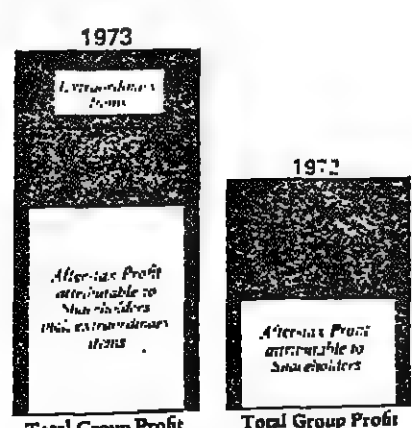
INTERNATIONAL FINANCE AND INVESTMENT GROUP



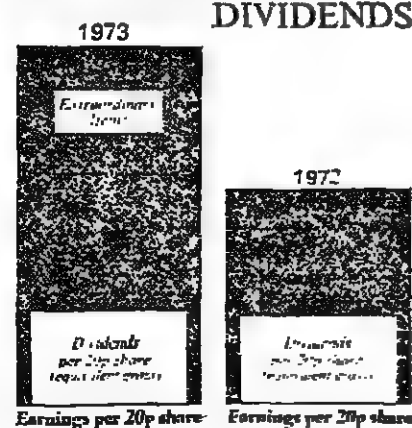
achieves Group Profits of £6 million

Chairman Kenneth Thorogood reports increased profits and earnings for the sixth successive year

PROFITS



EARNINGS AND DIVIDENDS



SUMMARY OF RESULTS

	1973	1972
Total Group Profit including extraordinary items, £1,235,000; before Loan Stock Interest, £587,000; and tax	£6,134,000	£4,065,000
After-tax profit attributable to Shareholders including extraordinary items 1973: £1,110,000	£3,091,000	£1,619,000
Earnings per 20p share including extraordinary earnings 1973: 3.9p	11.0p	6.6p
Dividends per 20p share (equivalent gross)	2.7563p	2.6250p
Dividend cover excluding extraordinary earnings	3.8 times	2.8 times

TOZER KEMSLEY & MILLBOURN (HOLDINGS) LIMITED.

Copies of the 1973 Report and Accounts can be obtained from The Secretary at 28 Great Tower Street, London, EC3R 5DE.

BY THE FINANCIAL EDITOR

Judging the trend for ICI now

ICI had absolutely everything going for it in the first quarter. Demand for most major chemical products was extremely high, and was very firm and sure of reduced United Kingdom demand after the war crisis, ICI's (well managed) output could be switched without offending its customers.



Mr. Steve Owen, chairman of F.W. Woolworth: Effect of the three-day week

Top of that, the weakening of sterling against other leading currencies, and something like £55m to £10m to profits. The far, international trade is being up extremely well in chemical products—plastics, dyestuffs, etc.—and many of the ICI overseas subsidiaries have a September and, further excellent. Its are virtually in the bag the group's second quarter. The question now is how soon can it return to current chemical price levels will set in. It is already some sign of happening in petrochemicals in Europe and the increase in the price of oil has had only in to show itself in the first of this year.

ICI has only just begun to contend with the full effects of raw material cost increases and increasingly these are going to have to be passed on. The United Kingdom retail price index will be some 20 up this year, though at a working capital of £1,200m, ICI is not in a position to pass on its cost increases. As cash flow should meet £200m of capital spending even on an inflation of 20 per cent, ICI is not in a position to pass on its cost increases.

ICI's first quarter 1974 (1973/74) Capitalization £1,150m Sales £661m (£597m) Pre-tax profits £121m (£101m)

inevitably reflected the sharp increases in input costs, though there could be some recovery in margins as this year progresses. At this stage, one is perhaps looking for maintained United Kingdom earnings this year and the running, being made overseas. This should be sufficient to underpin the shares, now selling at 54 times earnings and yielding 5.7 per cent.

Final 1973/74 (1972/73) Capitalization £1,150m Sales £734m (£597m) Pre-tax profits £121m (£101m) Earnings per share 36.1p (26.5p) Dividend gross 13.75p (13.125p)

F.W. Woolworth

Hoping the worst is over

Woolworth prepared the stock market for a bad first quarter. Figures at last month's annual meeting, the fall in the share price, the reduction in the profit to £6.2m on sales 71 per cent higher at £97.6m. So, margins in the three months to end April fell from 9 per cent to around 5.7 per cent. Woolworth blames most of the blame on the three-day week—at one point it was returning only 3 per cent on sales—and now reckons that the worst is over. Moreover, even if Mrs. Shirley Williams's measures turn out to be as burdensome as some retailers think, Woolworth is now operating well within its reference levels and so should have no difficulties on this front.

Nevertheless, the trading picture at this stage will not help the group regain its former investment image. Even with a potential yield of just under 12 per cent, this is a share to leave alone until later this year when it should be possible to see prospects—both for the economy and Woolworth—more clearly.

First quarter: 1974/75 (1973/74) Capitalization £180m Sales £97.6m (£91.0m) Pre-tax profits £4.67m (£7.44m)

Commercial Union

Underwriting loss reduced

After starting 1973 so badly, it was inevitable that Commercial Union would buck the trend and turn in an improved first-quarter underwriting result this year. The reduction in the loss from £6.8m to £4.5m is all the more creditable given that the latter figure includes an initial £0.8m loss from Delta Lloyd and that the special provision

made for Australian losses has not been touched. Delta Lloyd produced £1.8m of investment income, probably washing its face for the quarter after financing charges are deducted. A reasonable contribution looks on for the full year, especially if its poor fire record can be remedied. The Australian figures relate to the third quarter of 1973 and probably accounted for the least firm of the setback with Canadian fire experience almost as expensive. The story in the United States has been one of swings and roundabouts, but the April tornadoes are not now expected to cost quite as much as the \$7m-\$8m originally feared. Sluggish net premium growth of just 12 per cent ex Delta Lloyd hardly matters much in the context of the \$30m raised last month from the sale of 36 per cent of the CU building.

Thus CU has a stronger interest than most companies in the maintenance of high interest rates, especially since its attitude towards equity and property investment remains a reportedly cautious one. Up 3p to 130p yesterday, the shares yield 7 per cent and may be underestimating CU's capacity to ride out 1974 in better style than most.

First quarter: 1974 (1973) Capitalization £265m Net premiums £192m (£159m) Pre-tax profits £8.0m (£2.7m)

House of Fraser

American intentions

Last week's news that the Monopolies Commission has disallowed Boots' takeover of House of Fraser, had, as was anticipated, very little effect on the Fraser share price. Attention is now focused on what the American department store group Broadway-Hale will make of its situation. Committed—British Government consent notwithstanding—to the purchase of 20 per cent of new Fraser equity forming the bulk of the Scottish Universal Investments interest at what seems an exceptionally generous price of 142p per share, the United States group has given little indication of its intentions towards the rest of Fraser.

Given that clearance of an initial deal will take at least three, and possibly six months, a full-scale bid appears if not out of the question, certainly too far over the horizon for it to matter in short price terms. Even with Fraser shares currently languishing at 84p, Broadway-Hale is apparently viewing its expensive entry into United Kingdom retailing as an investment rather than as the preliminary to mass involvement. There are, for instance, no plans to appoint a representative to the Fraser board. Furthermore, the flavour of the Monopolies Commission's thinking on the earlier Boots deal suggests that a full-scale bid could meet with disapproval, given the shift in emphasis which puts the onus on the bidder to demonstrate some tangible benefit to the consumer.

And American groups are better versed in these matters than their British equivalents. This, nevertheless, leaves Fraser shareholders in a rather curious limbo—where the high price that Broadway-Hale is paying for its slice of the equity in short price terms while at the same time reduces the chances of another offer. Meanwhile, the group's foremost executive has made it clear that his interests lie elsewhere and Broadway-Hale is planning a limited managerial involvement. At current levels the shares are on a prospective 1973 p/e ratio of just under 10, on a par with Debenhams' rating.

John Earle looks at one model for state ownership in industry

IRI: a typically Italian enterprise

IRI, the Italian state holding corporation, awaits a summons to expand still further its vast conglomerate of activities. The Government, which admits to falling down in its duty of providing the services and social reforms required in an industrialized society, is preparing to launch a series of projects in sectors such as university and hospital building, the modernization of ports and computer transport systems, irrigation, reforestation, and territorial regulation in coordinated areas plans.

What has yet to be decided, however, is how to share the contracts between the public sector corporations (IRI is only the biggest of several) and concerns like Fiat and Montedison.

IRI (Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale) already has over 150 companies manufacturing the most varied range of goods from nuclear power stations to a quality Barolo-type wine from a farm outside Rome.

Among group members are three leading banks (Banca Commerciale Italiana, Banco di Roma, and Credito Italiano),

and companies prominent in steelmaking, engineering, motor cars (Alfa Romeo), electronics and electrical equipment, shipbuilding (Italcantieri), public works, food, processing and supermarkets.

Service activities include telecommunications and telephone shipping lines (Italia, Lloyd Triestino, etc.), airlines (Alitalia), motorway and television broadcasting (RAI).

This hotchpotch owes its origin to the prewar world depression, when the three banks were threatened with collapse. The fascist state formed IRI to take them over.

At first IRI was regarded as a hospital in which sick companies could be nursed back to health. Now the Government uses it as a spearhead in pursuing strategic objectives, such as the development of advanced technology, industrial rationalization, and defence against foreign takeovers in sensitive sectors.

Its present role owes much to Professor Pasquale Saraceno, its economic adviser, and to Professor Giuseppe Petrilli, a 61-year-old Neapolitan actuary

who has been chairman since 1960. Professor Petrilli answers the Ministry of State Partecipations, responsible for all parastatal corporations.

In the Mezzogiorno, IRI owns the Taranto steelworks (annual capacity being increased to 10.5 million tons) and the Alfa-Sud motor car plant near Naples.

While it is scheduled to build the controversial Gioia Tauro steel complex in Calabria, IRI has made known its dislike of the site—but Gioia Tauro was chosen for political reasons and the company will have to comply with the Government directives.

In advanced technology, IRI companies are present in all the main techniques being used or researched in Italy for nuclear power.

IRI's present lines of thrust, according to Professor Petrilli, are mainly in steel (Gioia Tauro) and electronics.

Though focussed on Italy, IRI companies are extremely active abroad. For example, in the construction sector alone its initiatives include the Chimborazo steelworks (Peru), Malakal's biggest steelmill at Malakal (Zaire), the Portuguese super-

tanker port of Sines, the Corodoba (Argentina) nuclear power plant in a Canadian-led consortium, and the Egyptian Suez-Mediterranean oil pipeline, as well as pipes for the Soviet Union-Italy gas pipeline. But these have all come in the ordinary course of business and, as Professor Petrilli stressed, IRI has no foreign policy as such.

IRI itself, with basic capital provided as an "endowment fund" voted by Parliament, is the tip of a pyramid working from a headquarters on Via Veneto, the so-called "Dolce Vita" street.

While a few companies depend directly on it, most come under a second layer of financial holding groups immediately below IRI—Finisider (steel), Finmeccanica (engineering), Fincantieri (shipbuilding), Finmare (shipping), Stet (telecommunications).

Their holdings in individual companies vary from 100 per cent to minority shares along with private shareholders.

IRI and its companies go to the market for most of their risk capital, often in the form of bonds, while a few have

equity listings on stock exchanges. The ratio between state endowment funds and market-raised capital is stated to be about one to 10.

Companies are allowed considerable operational independence and are expected to meet their financial requirements as autonomously as possible, though in need they can go to the holding group—which in turn can go to IRI.

It is a loose framework—officials say there is much more centralized financial control in an American conglomerate like ITT.

The IRI formula is essentially a product of Italian conditions and executives emphasize it is not for export—certainly not to Britain. If anywhere, Spain might offer more promising ground for IRI-type, undocrative flexibility. IRI is not even claimed to be the answer for all Italian problems, such as the deficit ridden state railways.

Perhaps IRI's greatest successes have been in providing Italy with a modern steel industry, motorway and telecommunications networks, and sophisticated banks operating successfully on international markets.

Building the confidence of the unemployed executive

At a guess, about 250,000 managerial, executive, technical and professional posts change hands in Britain every year. Employers are looking for the right man for the job, and the man for the job is looking for the right employer.

For the most part they move to get better paid or more satisfying jobs. Young men seek wider experience, older men go perhaps to firm, a promotion block, or because they cannot get on with their boss, or because some rival company tempts them away.

Others leave their jobs unwillingly, because their talents have not proved suitable for their work, or because their company is wallowing in another, or trade falls off, or they fail to hit it off with a new managing director, or they have been on the wrong side in an internal power struggle, or developments in technology or company policy make their special abilities no longer required.

A lucky few get a golden handshake when they are fired, but nobody strikes to enforce their reinstatement. They are out of work and they are on their own.

The constant movement means there are jobs going, except sometimes for the very specialized, but the unemployed executive may suffer a drastic loss of self-confidence.

He may have been readily moved up in the firm, in command of the environment he knows—but when he is thrown out, perhaps by a closure, he is at a loss. Or he may be a man who has held his own in the jungle but, now past his prime, finds the jungle closing in on him. Or he may be a young man of promise, with his feet on the ladder, whose hopes are suddenly shaken.

For men like these the Government's Professional and Executive Recruitment service (PER) has since the middle of last year been running special three-day courses in "self presentation"—the technique of inducing an employer to choose them for a job.

The PER's computer at Runnymede holds details of about 62,000 people looking for jobs, on average in the £3,000 to

£4,000 salary range but a good many more senior. About half of them are unemployed. But the PER knows of only about 500,000 unemployed, though its services, jobs are obtained by about 700 a month. Many of the others become discouraged.

For this reason the self-presentation courses are limited to those unemployed or facing redundancy. They were tried out in London and half a dozen other cities and seemed to be sufficiently successful for the number to be increased this year.

I sat in recently during the opening session of one of them, a session devoted to "raising self-confidence and building confidence." It was being taken by Mr. T. A. Carey, who was a guerrilla leader in France and Burma during the war, later managed a boat-building firm until the business was sold, and then took up consultancy. He is now with Percy Courts and Co, the consultancy firm which was running the course.

When I joined them, the 18 members of the group were one after another giving an account of their business life, often conveying an impression of mud and incompetence management at the top. One had been a general manager for 22 years in the Far East, had returned and became a roving management consultant, but now wanted a more stable job.

Another had been export manager for a big company, first in Turkey, then in Germany, and then had taken over the export work of a smaller textile company.

A dark-haired man of 33, with one degree in aeronautical engineering and another in economics, was in his third period of unemployment. He said, "I had had some half a dozen jobs, some of which sounded highly attractive, but none of them suited me. I'm not the major problem deciding what is interesting," he suggested.

A quietly spoken grey-haired man in his fifties disagreed. "I had been a general manager for 22 years in the Far East, had returned and became a roving management consultant, but now wanted a more stable job."

In a different world from business, commerce was a man who had edited an educational journal, spent eight years producing an international encyclopedia for children, becoming managing director of a publishing firm and finished as editorial director in an American

can firm which ceased operations in this country and left him redundant last November.

Every now and then Mr. Carey interjected comments. "You have got to be sure, when you take a job, that there is a job there, that there is an interviewer so much as talking at length about your career." "Never take the word of an advertisement as gospel, especially if it mentions an age limit."

A sort of Greek chorus to the proceedings was provided by a consultant in the group who decided before the first session was over that the whole thing was a waste of time and the taxpayers' money—and kept saying so.

The value of such courses is difficult to assess. There is a waiting list for them. But they are free, so if you are out of work why not go along? The programme of the course I visited included among other things analysis of the various methods of approaching employers, drawing up different kinds of job advertisements and writing applications for them, discussing preparation for an interview—how to dress, what to say, and how to ask questions beforehand as much as possible about the firm concerned.

On the last day they practised different types of interview—the "relaxed" interview in which the interviewer leads the applicant on by a friendly approach that may be deceptive, and the "pressure" interview in which the interviewer asks aggressively such questions as why the applicant cannot get a job and why he cannot hold his last one—so that he is reduced to nervous fidgeting or even walks out in temper—and the "unskilled" interview in which the applicant must take charge.

The final theme is that job-hunting needs to be a positive, self-marketing activity, in which the candidate uses every one of the variety of methods of approach and organizes himself to make the most of each one. There were no women on the course I visited, but there have been some in earlier courses. This year there will be three special courses for women, who often have their own problems.

Of the 400 who took these courses in the past year, 200 are back at work. How many would have got the job anyway, it is impossible to know, but each of the 200 has asked whether the course helped.

Some found it hard to say, but others were sure it had been "of direct assistance," "most beneficial," "very valuable because it made me think more positively." Others said it had been of little use or that they had learnt nothing new.

One or two thought the courses should be on more practical lines, but one said the psychological effect of feeling that a new approach would make all the difference was important, and another valued the knowledge that he was not a special case but typical and therefore need not feel overworried.

On the other hand, there was one who found it "extremely depressing" and was "appalled to discover so many experienced men who had been unemployed so long." This attitude appears to be rare, however.

More were encouraged by the opportunity to meet others in the same boat and talk about themselves and their problems. If the courses are valuable, it is probably not so much because of their commonsense advice, or because of their prompting to positive action, as because they reduce the loneliness of the out-of-work executive which can easily turn to resignation.

Eric Wigham

Halifax Building Society 1974 Annual General Meeting

Points from the statement by the Chairman, Mr. Ian Macleod, presented at the 121st Annual General Meeting on 20th May 1974

Progress during 1973

The assets of the Society at 31st January 1974 were £3,206 million, an increase of £415 million or 14.8% during the year. Receipts from investing shareholders and depositors were a record at £1,054.1 million, but withdrawals also came in at a high level being £254.6 million. The net inflow was £254.6 million compared with £280.8 million in the previous year. Liquid funds at 31st January 1974 were £478.8 million or 14.93% of total assets which compares with £421.1 million or 15.09% at 31st January 1973. Reserves stood at £89.8 million or 2.80% of total assets compared with 3.04% twelve months ago. 614,283 new accounts were opened during the year of which £22,514 were investors and 91,969 were borrowers. On average 2,014 new accounts were opened each working day.

Mortgages

The Society advanced on mortgage £613.4 million. This conformed extremely well with the target set at the beginning of the year. Our priorities on the mortgage market are underlined by the following points—

- (a) 28.8% of advances were to people under 25 years of age. In the last three months of our financial year this percentage had increased to 31.5.
- (b) 48% of advances were to first time purchasers.
- (c) 42% of the number of loans made were in respect of advances which did not exceed £5,000.
- (d) 73% of advances were to people with incomes of £3,000 or below.
- (e) £153 million were advanced on new houses, such loans representing 26.4% of the total.

Only 12% of the total advances were made to people with incomes in excess of £4,000.

Against the background of last year's turbulent economic scene, I feel it is a reflection of the underlying strength of the Society and of the confidence placed in it by its members that our intended lending programme was so closely achieved.

Interest Rates

During the past year, although the investors share rate was increased from 5.8% to 6.3% and then to 6.75%, this was still not sufficient in the light of

rates generally to provide the required net inflow. The subsequent difficulties of sterling and the effect on rates in other sections of the personal savings market caused by the Government's decision to support the pound had by September made a further increase unavoidable.

Accordingly an increase in the investment rate to 7.50% was made with a corresponding increase to 11% in the amount charged to borrowers.

Interest rates are still high and competition for funds remains intense, but I would stress that in no single month has the Halifax paid out more in withdrawals than it has taken in by way of receipts from investors.

Current Lending Policy

The difficulties of the current economic climate have meant that our lending has had to be restricted to the extent that prudence demanded. However, priority is continuing to be given to those members who are attempting to buy for the first time or who are obliged to move because of their work. We have for some time severely limited larger advances. Much discussion has taken place on new ideas to increase the supply of lending funds and all of these are given close consideration. I am sure, however, that it is because we continue to adopt sensible policies that we still receive the support and confidence of the great majority of the public.

Administration

In the late part of 1973 the Society's new head office was occupied. The advanced design with its ancillary equipment provides the conditions necessary for the Society to meet the demands of the present and future. Also becoming operational is the computer-controlled deeds storage and retrieval system.

The first meeting of the London Board has taken place under the chairmanship of Sir James Whitaker. Branch development has continued along logical lines with branches only being opened where in due course we are confident that they will add to the scope of our service and also fulfil cost effective criteria.

23 new branches have been opened, improvements have been carried out at 27 branches and eight have been re-housed. The Society's agency representation now exceeds 1,000.

HALIFAX BUILDING SOCIETY
Member of The Building Societies Association

Business Diary: Debenhams' delight? • Is Bateman fireproof?

Thornton, who on July 1 over as chief executive of Jams Limited, appears to be man the stores group most likely to get it off keener list. Thornton, an accountant, comes from Jams from United Building Merchants Group, where he has gone up by over 20 per cent since he joined in 1968.

Thornton's arrival will take of the weight from the shoulders of chairman Sir Henry Burney, who has been the fort since last October the sudden departure of personal reasons" of chief executive John Smith. Thornton, left UBH in a "for personal reasons". But then, as all the textbooks is a very personal business, since he has not claimed his desk, on was a bit wooden in his ideas for Debenhams. He did point out that of UBH's profit came a self service, cash-and-homeplan chain of 11 and bathroom centres. Debenhams' 31,000 staff, of whom work in the High Street department would no doubt welcome any chance to talk to him and to Sir Anthony a change of policy along lines.



Bateman (centre), Rennie and Murray: a house divided...

lend themselves to self-service operation. For cash-and-carry operation, it might be worth looking at the group's two existing Scan superstores, more of which are said to be on the way.

In talking to Thornton, however, the staff may find a man convinced that there are several more steps to be pulled out before turning to a takeover as the way to live up the group.

be done. Behind closed doors, Bateman will be having a series of exploratory discussions with Len Murray and the TUC to reestablish mutual respect between employer and the unions. Both parties are pretty tired of governmental influences which have served to divide industry. Less private, however, will be the vital consultations with Tony Benn on Labour's industrial policy. Here Mr. Bateman may have to follow his listening with some very vocal appeals to public opinion, to which a minority Government may be more responsive.

Campbell Adamson, the director-general, seems set on staying at the CBI and helping Bateman through an obviously difficult period. But a new proposal is to create a president's advisory committee to enhance the leadership's authority in handling major issues.

Message home

Inflation accounting has really come home to roost for the accountants it seems—at least for the 13,000 members of the Institute of Cost and Management Accountants. They are being asked to put their money where their mouths are on this issue.

In a letter which members will receive this morning from their president, Cyril Herring, they are informed that the annual (full member) subscription is being raised from £17.50 to £20. Herring is obviously hoping that, before threatening to resign over this 144 per cent rise, his members will reflect on the

virtues of practising what they now so often preach.

Though the institute's accounts show a "healthy surplus" for last year, inflation accounting points to a break-even situation. Herring, on the other hand, says that there could well be a big deficit next year.

Like many businesses, the Institute has been happily assuming a fairly modest rate of inflation—around 8 per cent—in its financial calculations up to now. It is only "prudent" virtually to double this assumption to around 15 per cent now, says Herring, and on this basis the Institute needs another £50,000 a year simply to stand still.

Herring ends on a more dire note. "The Council of the Institute" wishes to warn members that, if inflation continues at its present rate, the Institute is likely to be faced with the need to make further increases in fees and subscriptions for 1976 and thereafter it might well become necessary to review fees and subscription annually."

Jo Grimond made much in his letter yesterday to The Times of the fact that Sir William Armstrong, head of the Civil Service, would be getting £34,000 a year as the next chairman of the Midland Bank. This was not only income (and having a wife, but no dependent children) Sir William would net £11,873 of this salary after tax. In fact he will also be entitled to a Civil Service pension, which counts as earned income, so the net value of the £34,000 to him will be rather less.

FINANCIAL NEWS

Rio Tinto-Zinc attacks handicap of 'growing state intervention'

By Andrew Wilson
Mining Correspondent

Copper would continue to be the main source of attributable earnings in 1974 for Rio Tinto-Zinc, and with the metal price almost certain to average above last year's £727 a tonne, net earnings were likely to be well above 1973's £69.6m, Sir Val Duncan, chairman, told the annual meeting.

Coupled to this forecast was a strong attack on "the increasing tendency of governments to intervene in industry". These activities could only add to the uncertainties facing international corporations, he said.

Sir Val said predictions about RTZ's profits were difficult because of uncertainties on the level of commodity prices, and their impact in 1974 was likely to be even more significant than before.

The copper price was currently around £1,200 a tonne and the average for the first four months was £1,095. But there might be some reduction in the price as he believed there was a speculative element in the price, due to the lack of confidence in currencies.

If the tax proposals introduced several weeks ago by the British Columbia government and those of the Federal govern-



Sir Val Duncan, chairman of Rio Tinto-Zinc. Earnings expected to be well above last year's £69.6m.

ment were both enacted, a mine like Lornax would have virtually all its profits removed by taxation, and would have to pay substantial federal taxes on income it did not receive.

This would have most serious consequences for Canada as an one in the private sector would be capable of raising capital. But

on the prospect of the renegotiation of the Bougainville agreement, Sir Val was confident that a satisfactory solution would be found.

A most serious situation faced free enterprise in Britain. Sir Val said governments did not seem to understand that it was wrong to seek national unity through penalizing shareholders. Under present legislation, shareholders could only receive, in real terms, a declining return in their income, while wages and prices were rising. This became a form of financial discrimination which divided the nation rather than unified it.

It was essential, Sir Val added, that investment in free enterprise companies should be serviced buoyantly out of earnings. The idea that an enforced ceiling of 5 per cent on dividends could be regarded as remotely fair in the context of a rate of inflation well over double that figure was not a proposition which could be examined seriously.

Far too much time and effort was spent trying to redistribute the existing wealth rather than encouraging men and women to increase their effective performance.

Overseas thrust helps Staflex to peak £1.7m

By Our Financial Staff

Staflex International, the garment interlinings and sewing machine group, achieved record pre-tax profits of £1.69m last year, an increase of 38 per cent on the previous year's performance. Turnover rose by 50 per cent to £24m.

Because of this "encouraging result," Staflex is paying a net final dividend of 1.05p a share against nil in 1972. This will take the full year distribution up to 2.05p a share net (3p gross equivalent), a 68 per cent increase on the 1972 total payout. Treasury consent has

been given under the recovery situation criterion.

Of the £1.39m pre-tax profits contributed by the interlining division last year, 86 per cent came from overseas. The machinery division raised its contribution from £200,000 to £300,000.

Subject to there being no dramatic downturn in the level of world trade, and with the reasonable expectation that performance during the rest of the year continues at the same level as in the first four months, the group says it can look forward to another year of significant growth.

ANZ Bank less optimistic

Although the Australia and New Zealand Banking Group earned a net profit 39 per cent higher in the half-year to March 31, it does not expect to maintain this level of growth and forecasts a full return which will only match the £13.7m of 1972-73. Gross income rose by 40 per cent.

The group says all its major activities made a satisfactory contribution in the half, but since the beginning of April, cost of funds, particularly in Australia, has increased considerably. However, deposit levels have been maintained. Based on these trends the full return should be of the same order as in the previous period.

The half-time payment goes up from 5.5p to 6.7p and a total of 13.5p (10.5p) is forecast. This will be paid on a share capital increased by the one-for-seven rights issue in March. By this the group sought to raise £14.5m.

Issues & Loans

Bank of Ireland £10.25m rights

Underwriting arrangements are now in progress by the Bank of Ireland to raise £10.25m through a rights issue. It is to take the form of a 10 per cent convertible, subordinated, unsecured loan stock dated 1991/96 and will be allocated on the basis of £3 nominal of the new stock for every £4 nominal of capital stock.

Reed Dutch issue

Reed International is making a 10.9m florin bond issue in the Dutch domestic market as part of a 100m florin issue. The coupon has been fixed at 11 1/2 per cent and the issue price at par.

The balance of the 89.1m florin bonds will be issued to shareholders of Koninklijke Sphinx on completion of the offer for the company's shares by Reed. The offer closes on May 29 and the whole issue is subject to its successful completion.

Amsterdam-Rotterdam Bank, Algemeene Bank Nederland and Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas are subscribing, or obtaining subscribers for the 10.9m florins part of the issue. Reed has been advised by S. G. Warburg and Amsterdam-Rotterdam Bank.

Hungary seeks \$100m

The National Bank of Hungary is negotiating an eight-year loan of up to \$100m from a syndicate led by Kuhn Loeb Bank, Bank of America and Commercial Bank. The loan is expected to carry an interest rate margin of 4 percentage points above Euro-dollar interbank rates.

Christopher Wilkins

Eurobond prices (midday indicators)

5 STRAIGHTS	10 STRAIGHTS	15 STRAIGHTS	20 STRAIGHTS	25 STRAIGHTS	30 STRAIGHTS
Algeria 1984 100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Austria 1984 100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Belgium 1984 100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Denmark 1984 100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
France 1984 100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Germany 1984 100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Greece 1984 100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Ireland 1984 100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Italy 1984 100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Netherlands 1984 100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Portugal 1984 100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Spain 1984 100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Sweden 1984 100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Switzerland 1984 100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
UK 1984 100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
US 1984 100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Fitzwilliam to reach £3.2m

Following up last year's profit of £2.5m (a £1.7m, in 1972) the board, Dublin-based Fitzwilliam is aiming for a result of £3.2m for the present year.

It is achieved, the dividend will be raised from 5p to 6p. Meanwhile, interim is £1.4m, although the points out that direct costs are not possible because mergers and acquisitions, even, on an adjusted year basis, the board's first-half rise of about 10 per cent has been achieved.

The group, which takes timber, and pharmaceuticals, ducts, builders' materials, etc., had a £24.5m for the half year.

Guthrie & Co (UK)

For 1973, tangible profit Guthrie & Co, which acts as national merchants, shippers and confirmers and in Macri Investment has a 4 per cent stake, have more than doubled from £1.5m to £3.2m after tax the net profit. The company's 1973 high £1.5m against £893,000 in 1972. There is an extraordinary item credited of £97,000 minority interests take £1 against £28,000 leaving the available balance at £1,065,000.

Laporte confident

Despite economic uncertainties Laporte, the chemical ducts group, is confident the current year prospects, year's substantial rise in price from £3.2m to £7.5m at the risk level, was due mainly to a buoyant export market. Group sales rose by 50 per cent against 20 per cent in United Kingdom.

Slater Walker (Can)

Earnings of Slater Walker Canada for the first three months are up from \$1m to \$3.4m, and from \$805,000 to \$1.2m after extraordinary items.

AUSTIN-HALL-PENTOS

Following discussions with the board, directors of Austin Hall Pentos, while not adverse to merge, unanimously of opinion that the Pentos offer inadequate recommendation shareholders accept.

BANCROS INV TRUST

Pre-tax profit for 1973 £414,000 (£391,000), compares in report on Saturday.

NORCROS-SWS

Following release from it taking a time of recent offer for Crutwell-type Eng not to sell for period of 18 months, the company's ordinary shares in market and neither in subsidiaries now holds any ordinary shares.

JOHN WILLIAMS OF CAL

Interim pre-tax profit of £245,000 (against £31,000) of fuel crisis. Interim dividend 0.66p (0.5p).

Mining

Lorraine look 25 years life

With the higher gold has now been discovered the mining Lorraine to 200,000 tons and, provided the increased price of gold, the remaining ore should be sufficient to this rate for about 25 years. The total capital allowing for cost escalation amount to £27m over the present £7m. The group is already in sinking the No 4 (ve shaft).

Brinco's soars

Brinco's net income March quarter 1974 £1.28m to £2.28m reflecting increased income of £1.1m. (Labrador electric operation w from £2.84m to \$4.57m).

On March 28, Brinco

in principal to sell to one of the Newfoundland in Churchill Falls and Labrador water rights. RTZ owns 40.2 per cent.

Andrew

1973: A YEAR OF INTERNATIONAL GROWTH

Extracts from the Report to Shareholders by Mr Henry Keswick, Chairman and Managing Director of The Hongkong Land Co. Ltd.

Earnings per share up 20%; properties revalued

1973 was an important year in the group's development—marked by the raising of US\$50,000,000 in the international capital market; the acquisition of Fitzpatrick's Food Supplies (Far East) Ltd, a major supermarket and food supplies company in Singapore and Malaysia; and the letting of the 52-storey Connaught Centre, the largest building ever developed by Hongkong Land.

Group net profit after tax for 1973 was £11,113,000 (£8,952,000 for 1972) and earnings per share rose 20%. Dividends paid and recommended for 1973 total 2.04p per share—an increase of 15% over 1972.

The major portion of the group's property portfolio was revalued in August 1973 by Jones, Lang, Wootton at £293,881,000 indicating a surplus of some £67,672,000 over book values. It is not planned to incorporate this surplus into the group's accounts at the present time.

The group now has over 40,000 shareholders, making Hongkong Land one of the widest-held public companies listed in Hong Kong.

3 million sq. ft of commercial space

The group is the principal owner of prime buildings in the Central District of Hong Kong, with some 3,100,000 sq. ft of lettable space including 700,000 sq. ft in Connaught Centre.

Demolition of Alexandra House will begin in May 1974, and a new 34-storey office building is scheduled for completion in 1976.

The 41-storey World Trade Centre (45% owned) is under construction (completion 1975), housing in the podium the largest convention facilities in Hong Kong.

A ten-year progressive redevelopment scheme is planned for our five older Central District properties.

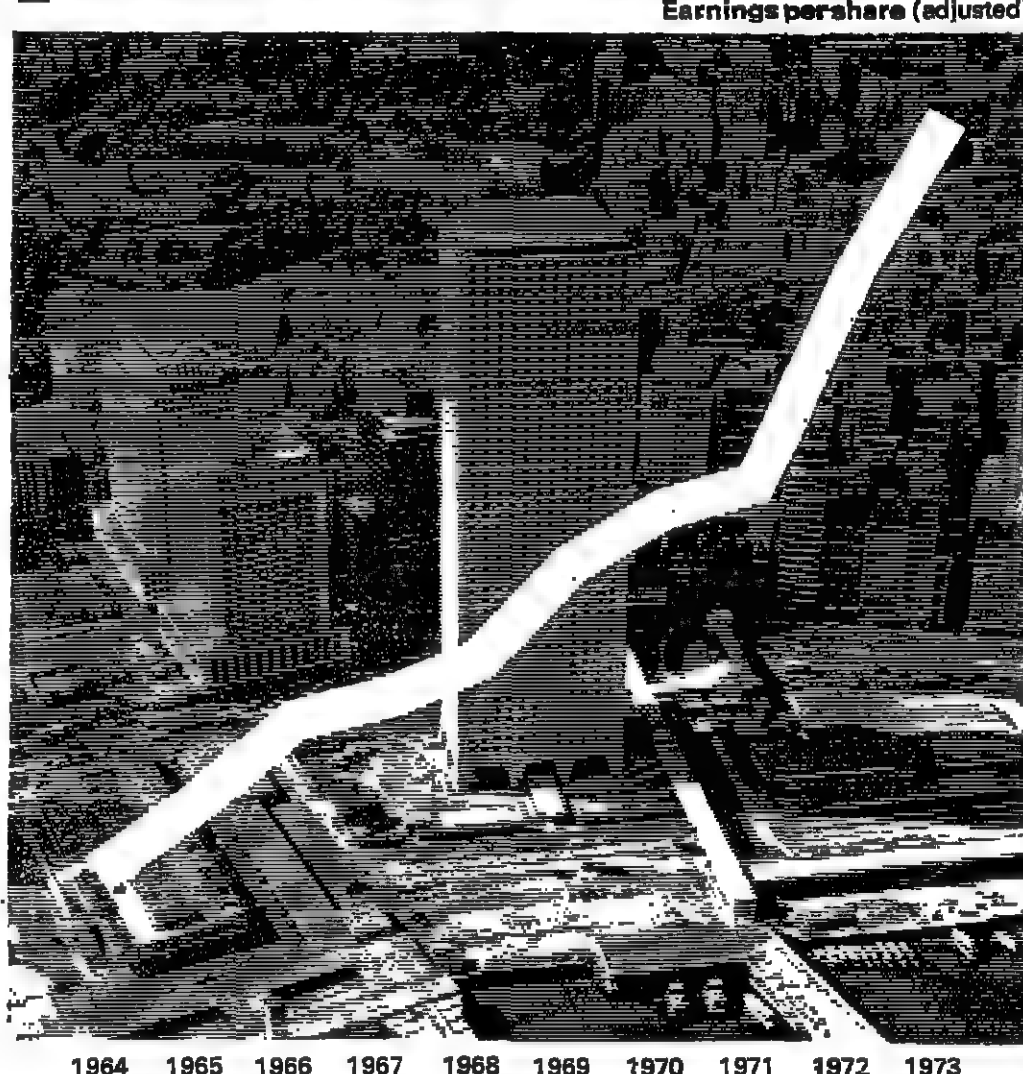
In Kuala Lumpur, a supermarket, car park and 18-storey office complex owned by Fitzpatrick's are now completed and let, also substructure tenders have been received for a 27-storey building, in which the group is a partner, due for completion in mid-1978.

Residential demand exceeds supply

The demand for our extensive first class residential properties continues to exceed the supply. May Tower (54 duplex flats, in joint venture) and Branksome Towers (94 flats) are under construction and the group has substantial land holdings at Pokfulam for future development pending Government approval. Over 1,000 other flats for sale are under construction or planned in joint ventures in Hong Kong. Work should soon begin on 900 acres of housing in Jakarta, in partnership; and our Guam properties are under development.

Hotel expansion

Since the end of 1973, the group's subsidiary, City Hotels Ltd—operators of The Mandarin—has formed Mandarin International Hotels Ltd to market existing hotels and seek new regional hotel management opportunities.



The group owns 49% of Bangkok's Oriental Hotel and 31% of the Excelsior Hotel, while City Hotels Ltd owns 20% of Lee Gardens Hotel and 40% of Maxim's Caterers Ltd. The group has advanced plans for a 500-room Jakarta Mandarin in Indonesia (completion mid-1976) and is investigating a 1,200-room tourist hotel on a site owned at Causeway Bay. Interests held in The Hongkong Hotel and Empress Hotel, through Harbour Centre Development Ltd, have been exchanged with The Hongkong & Kowloon Wharf & Godown Co. Ltd in return for 6% of that company's equity. Kowloon Wharf owns the Marco Polo Hotel in Singapore as well as considerable property in Kowloon.

Asian food interests

The Dairy Farm group, acquired in November 1972, made their first full year's profit and dividend contribution. Net profit after tax rose to £2,699,000 for 1973, from £2,193,000 for 1972, an increase of 23%. Dairy Farm have continued their planned and vigorous expansion, there are 13 shopping centres in operation and 6 more under construction in Hong Kong.

Fitzpatrick's in Singapore and Malaysia are being integrated with the Dairy Farm group.

Land holdings for a decade of development

While the problems caused by the energy crisis may have some effect on the group, the current prospects for a continued rate of growth in line with previous years are encouraging. The balance sheet and financial resources are exceptionally strong and the group owns a magnificent portfolio of modern revenue producing developments.

We have sufficient land holdings in the commercial, residential and trading fields to keep our development programme busy up to the end of the decade, and the group has established relationships within the

international capital market which should enable the necessary finance for major developments to be obtained.

Henry Keswick Chairman

The Hongkong Land Company Ltd Gloucester Building, Hong Kong

	1973 Stg£	1972 Stg£
Group Profit after Taxation	11,113,000	8,952,000
Dividends	9,800,000	7,615,000
Shareholders' Funds	234,187,000	226,971,000
Earnings per share	2.32p	1.92p*
Dividends per share	2.04p	1.77p*

* Adjusted for Bonus Issue of 5 for 1 in February 1973

All above currency conversions from HK\$ made at rate ruling end-March 1974.

Hongkong Land

MARKET REPORTS

Foreign Exchange
Strong advance
by US dollar

The United States dollar advanced strongly against most European currencies on the foreign exchanges yesterday following the news that First National Bank of Chicago will raise its prime rate to 11.75 per cent from 11.40 per cent today.

The dollar closed at 2.4530-50 against the mark, much firmer than Friday's closing of 2.4440-60 and yesterday's Frankfurt fixing level of 2.4470. It was also stronger against the Swiss franc at 2.9410-50 (2.8900-90 on Friday) and guilder at 2.6170-6000 (2.5820-50).

The United States unit's rise also reflected some unwinding of speculative positions taken up last week in major Continental currencies.

amid rumours of a possible imminent restructuring of the European joint float, London dealers said.

However, sterling, which was not one of the major currencies in which speculative positions were established—held up relatively well against the dollar, closing at \$2.4530, down 45 points. It also performed well against European currencies, closing at 1.7700 (1.7650) against the mark and 1.0850 (1.0750) against the Swiss franc.

The Bank of England's trade-weighted sterling depreciation rate from December, 1971, levels narrowed to 17.30 per cent from 17.70 per cent on Friday.

The French franc lost its early sharp advance (following the Presidential election victory of M. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing) to close at 4.8700-8800 against the dollar, little changed from Friday's closing of 4.8650-8750. However, it remained firmer against other key European currencies, closing at 1.7700 (1.7650) against the mark, and 1.0850 (1.0750) against the Swiss franc.

Gold fell 52 an ounce, to close in London at \$163.50.

Spot Position
of Sterling

Market rate	Market rate
(1974)	(1974)
New York	2.4530-50
London	2.4530-50
Frankfurt	2.4470-80
Paris	4.8700-8800
Geneva	4.8650-8750
Basel	4.8650-8750
Amsterdam	4.8650-8750
Brussels	4.8650-8750
Stockholm	4.8650-8750
Copenhagen	4.8650-8750
Oslo	4.8650-8750
Stockholm	4.8650-8750
Copenhagen	4.8650-8750
Oslo	4.8650-8750
Stockholm	4.8650-8750
Copenhagen	4.8650-8750
Oslo	4.8650-8750

Forward Levels

1 Month	3 Months
New York	2.4530-50
London	2.4530-50
Frankfurt	2.4470-80
Paris	4.8700-8800
Geneva	4.8650-8750
Basel	4.8650-8750
Amsterdam	4.8650-8750
Brussels	4.8650-8750
Stockholm	4.8650-8750
Copenhagen	4.8650-8750
Oslo	4.8650-8750
Stockholm	4.8650-8750
Copenhagen	4.8650-8750
Oslo	4.8650-8750
Stockholm	4.8650-8750
Copenhagen	4.8650-8750
Oslo	4.8650-8750

Credit shortage
persists

The recent shortage of day-to-day credit persisted in Lombard Street yesterday and the authorities gave a large amount of assistance to enable the discount houses to bring their books into balance. In the event the help was

believed to have been considerably more than the day's factors warranted and banks should carry surplus funds over to today.

The help comprised small purchases of Treasury and Corporation bills—all direct from the houses—and a large amount of lending at minimum lending rates to seven or eight houses overnight.

Rates for day-to-day money ranged between 11 per cent and 11½ per cent for most of the day but small amounts may have been taken up to 12 per cent while a patchy close was reflected in the retail rates which ranged between 10½ per cent and 11½ per cent. The market sold eligible bills at 13½ per cent to 14½ per cent—turnover here was quite a good scale—and a few Treasury bills at 11½ per cent.

Bank Base
Rates

Barclays Bank	12½%
BNP	13%
BNP	13%
C. Hoare & Co.	12½%
Lloyds Bank	12%
Midland Bank	12½%
Nat. Westminster	12½%
Shenley Trust	13%
20th Cent Bank	12½%
G. T. Whyte	13%
Williams & Glyn's	12½%

Money Market

Bank of England Minimum Lending Rate 10½%
Clearing Bank Rate 12½%
Discount Rate 10½%
Overnight 11½%
Week Profit 11½%

1 month	3 months
New York	2.4530-50
London	2.4530-50
Frankfurt	2.4470-80
Paris	4.8700-8800
Geneva	4.8650-8750
Basel	4.8650-8750
Amsterdam	4.8650-8750
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Copenhagen	4.8650-8750
Oslo	4.8650-8750
Stockholm	4.8650-8750
Copenhagen	4.8650-8750
Oslo	4.8650-8750

SCANDINAVIA

Newly-established Danish firm willing to represent in Scandinavia a few serious British companies producing high-quality products at competitive prices. Please write to P. L. Weyer International 38 Tjersborg Allé, 3060 Esbjerg, Denmark.

Insurance
and the
Economy

Extracts from the Presidential address by Francis Perkins, DSC, President, The Corporation of Insurance Brokers

"The growth of insurance here in the United Kingdom depends upon the rate of growth in the national economy, and the broker whose business is concentrated upon commercial risks in, say, Lancashire, has the same interest in growth as the large international brokers. Conversely, if the British economy were to decline—as I believe it would if we came out of the European Economic Community—then we are condemning ourselves to a reduced rate of business here at home and an inability to retain our position in world insurance."

"What has impressed me during my time as your President is not so much the obligations of Government to industries like our own but rather the reverse. It is we, the business men of this country, who carry the main obligation and this obligation can be stated quite simply. It is to tell our Government Ministers and their Civil Servants, with the greatest clarity possible, what we are doing and precisely what we aspire to or fear."

"Our work rests on the achievements and standards of our members, and you will be doing the greatest possible service to the Corporation if in your daily lives you will take every opportunity to ensure that your clients and your friends fully understand the responsible part that we play and the contribution that we are striving to provide by way of a service to industry and the public."

CIB
The Corporation of Insurance Brokers.
15 St Helen's Place, London EC3A 6DS.
01-588 4387

Commodities

Forward zinc
down £68.50

There was a late dramatic collapse in ZINC prices in London yesterday. The market was moderately easier in ring trading, following a larger than expected rise in warehouse stocks, but in unofficial inter-office dealings the three months price plunged to £385—a drop of £68.50 on the day—compared with £453.50 on Friday.

The price fell below £600 this triggered stop loss and cash selling with buyers rapidly retreating. The stock increase was 3,575 metric tons.

Afternoon—Cash, 202.50; three months, 202.50; six months, 202.50; one year, 202.50. Zinc, 202.50; three months, 202.50; six months, 202.50; one year, 202.50.

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Authorized Units, Insurance & Offshore Funds

1974/75 High Low Bid Offer Yield

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The Times
Share Indices

The Times Share Indices for 20.5.74 from 1967 to 1974, original base date June 2, 1967.

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Women's Appointments also on pages 28 and 29

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M.D. of International Co. needs the help of an educated, sophisticated P.A./Sec., to cope with all aspects of his busy life. Good banking or commercial experience essential. 28-40. Salary neg. to £3,000 p.a.

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Apply with full curriculum vitae and details of availability to Box 2769 C. The Times.

FASHION COMPANY, W.1

Two young Directors of leading W.1 Fashion Company require an attractive SECRETARY/P.A. to assist in the running of the company. The successful applicant should be adaptable, willing to take responsibility and be able to run a small office. Salary £2,000 p.a.; subsidised staff restaurant. 4 weeks' annual holiday (flexible this year).

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GERMAN-SPEAKING SECRETARY

We need a girl with personality and ability to deal with German clients of small import/export concern.

Location: Sheen, S.W.14 (Moulton Park). Salary around £1,800-£2,000. Dial 576 1107 for interview.

THE WINE SOCIETY

Offers a Secretarial appointment to a lady interested in wine. The Society, a charity of over 100 members, is a leading authority on wine. The successful applicant will be responsible for the running of the Society's office and will be able to use her knowledge of wine to assist the Society's work. Salary £2,000 p.a.; subsidised staff restaurant. 4 weeks' annual holiday (flexible this year).

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PA-HAMBURG

First-class bilingual P.A./Secretary required to work in a leading Hamburg office. The successful applicant will be responsible for the running of the office and will be able to use her knowledge of German to assist the office's work. Salary £2,000 p.a.; subsidised staff restaurant. 4 weeks' annual holiday (flexible this year).

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PA/SEC.

Opportunity for a young secretary with enthusiasm to work in a dynamic, fast-moving company. The successful applicant will be responsible for the running of the office and will be able to use her knowledge of German to assist the office's work. Salary £2,000 p.a.; subsidised staff restaurant. 4 weeks' annual holiday (flexible this year).

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BILINGUAL EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

International Corporation headquarters in London. Requires an executive secretary with fluency in English and German. The successful applicant will be responsible for the running of the office and will be able to use her knowledge of German to assist the office's work. Salary £2,000 p.a.; subsidised staff restaurant. 4 weeks' annual holiday (flexible this year).

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ADVERTISING AGENCY, W.1

Requires an experienced young secretary with initiative and a keen eye for detail. The successful applicant will be responsible for the running of the office and will be able to use her knowledge of German to assist the office's work. Salary £2,000 p.a.; subsidised staff restaurant. 4 weeks' annual holiday (flexible this year).

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With diversified interests (FILMS, DESIGN ETC.) well-connected P.A. SECRETARY to help run his busy office. Salary £2,000 p.a.; subsidised staff restaurant. 4 weeks' annual holiday (flexible this year).

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WOMEN'S APPOINTMENTS SECRETARIAL

SECRETARY

MARKET RESEARCH

Polygram Leisure Limited, a large international music group are looking for an intelligent girl, age immaterial, to work for their Market Research and Sales Executive. Applicants must have good shorthand and typing and some understanding of Market Research would be an advantage but is not essential. You will have the opportunity to become really involved in this interesting work making it a stimulating job.

We would consider part-time for suitable applicants (minimum 25 hours week). The salary is negotiable. Among the many excellent benefits are L.V.s, 4 weeks holiday and staff discount on products.

Please telephone Miss Betty Smith, Personnel Officer for further details on 01-262 7788.

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OF FAST-EXPANDING MERCHANT BANK

Excellent shorthand and typing skills required, must be capable and ready to take responsibility for a varied and interesting work with plenty of client contact. Friendly informal working atmosphere in luxury Mayfair House. Generous holidays and excellent salary for the right girl.

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SECRETARY

c. £2,000

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CAREER GIRL—£2,500+

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Human Rights

a Special Report on their meaning and value, the bodies and conventions which uphold them, and the areas in which they are at risk

Illustrations by Joseph Wright



Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Declaration stronger than all the armies of Napoleon—or nonsense on stilts?

by P. J. Fawcett

Human rights have been on the value of bills of rights since the American Declaration of Independence (1776) was a piece stronger than all the armies of Napoleon, but called the "inalienable" rights of man. The European Convention on Human Rights (1950) was a piece stronger than all the armies of Napoleon, but called the "inalienable" rights of man. The European Convention on Human Rights (1950) was a piece stronger than all the armies of Napoleon, but called the "inalienable" rights of man.

by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948 as "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations", and its first offspring, the European Convention on Human Rights, have in part been models for these domestic bills of rights. The European Convention was drafted in the Council of Europe in 1949-50, with the active support from Britain of Winston Churchill, David Maxwell Fyfe (later Lord Kilbride) and other parliamentarians, and came into force in 1953. A European Commission of Human Rights was set up, its members came from each of the 10 countries which had signed the convention, and its task was to investigate complaints and to bring about a settlement with the government concerned. If no settlement was reached, the commission makes a report of the facts to the Committee of Ministers, of the Council of Europe, and gives its opinion.

the United Kingdom have recognized the right, but Cyprus, France, Malta and Turkey have not yet done so. Legal aid, financed by the Council of Europe, is available to applicants on the customary conditions. Any convention country may also refer to the commission alleged breaches of the European Convention in another convention country; for example, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands referred the situation in Greece to the commission in September, 1967, and its report played a part in the removal of Greece from the Council of Europe; and Iceland has referred alleged breaches of the convention by the United Kingdom in internment and interrogation in Northern Ireland.

The task of the commission is to investigate complaints and to bring about a settlement with the government concerned. If no settlement is reached, the commission makes a report of the facts to the Committee of Ministers, of the Council of Europe, and gives its opinion. The functions of the commission are essentially independent inquiry and persuasion. It is in no sense a court of law, though some of its members have had judicial experience in their countries, and it can rightly give no orders to governments. But in the thousands of applications it has dealt with since its creation in 1954 it has had an influence both in the protection of individuals, and on legislative and administrative practices, in convention countries.

Also in 1949 the United Nations began the task, which took 17 years to complete, of translating the "common standards of achievement" of the universal declaration into enforceable rights. Two covenants were drafted on civil and political rights, and on economic, social and cultural rights, called respectively in United Nations shorthand, legal rights and programme rights. It was recognized from the beginning that the first of these groups, traditionally called civil liberties in Britain, may be directly enforced through courts or parliaments; while the second, such as the right to education, are essentially claims, and may thus only be met over time through dedicated social policy and persistent reform.

It was seen that it was necessary to mark out programme rights even more than legal rights, not only because time and change were needed to secure them, but because without them legal rights may give little comfort: there was a time when a hungry man who stole a sheep got a fair trial but was still hanged. The United Nations covenants were adopted by the General Assembly by virtual unanimity but are not yet in force and, given the slow pace of ratification by countries, will not be for a long time to come. However, they are not only far wider and more articulated than the universal declaration, but, if a world view of human rights is possible, they are more representative of that view; for the universal declaration was adopted by 48 United Nations members, of which there were only four from Africa and three from Asia, and eight members, including the Soviet Union and Saudi Arabia, abstained.

The covenants must then, even though not in force, be taken as having replaced the universal declaration as world statements of "common standards of achievement" of human rights. The UN Commission on Human Rights is primarily a promotional body, but it has undertaken some specific inquiries, and its sub-committee on prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities has been empowered since 1970 to consider "all communications, including replies of governments thereon, and whether a consistent pattern of gross and reliably attested violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms". This sub-committee has undertaken a number of investigations. The International Labour Organisation, an older brother of the United Nations, has also sponsored since 1919 more than 130 international conventions covering labour in industry, agriculture and shipping. Some of these conventions, aimed at protecting basic rights, through the effective ILO reporting methods and the sanction of reprisals for unfair competition: for example, conventions on forced labour, the right to organize, collective bargaining, equal remuneration, minimum standards of social security, and discrimination in employment and remuneration.

Nationally, the ombudsman system, as a check on maladministration in central and local government, is taking wider hold. Originating in Scandinavia, there are now similar systems in a number of countries, but differing in some ways: such as the world's major minority rights organizations, which are linked to their own devices. In the case of minority rights, outside organizations of this kind have a particular responsibility. Only a few of the world's major minority groups can look to the protection of a neighbouring country, as the Roman Catholic minority in Northern Ireland can look to the Republic, or as the Jews of Russia can look to Israel and to the Diaspora communities for help. Even societies marked by a high degree of political repression recognize that their standing in the world cannot be allowed to deteriorate too far. Public opinion outside their own frontiers is important to them, more important in some cases than opinion among their own citizens. This presents organizations

like MRG with one useful source of political leverage. For failing all else, recalcitrant governments can be brought to the bar of world opinion, and obliged to answer for their conduct. Is it sufficient to leave the defence of the world's most defenceless communities to one small privately financed British organization? Although now becoming recognized throughout the world for its work in this field, that in itself represents a danger as well as a tribute. Humanitarian organizations can too readily assume that minority rights are being cared for by others, and need no additional effort. The International Committee of the Red Cross, Amnesty International, the churches and other religious institutions, and those governments which conduct their international relations with an element of altruism, are no doubt happy to join in a chorus of condemnation once a situation of minority oppression is exposed, but who is to do the exposing? Almost by definition, there is no outside vested interest

Minorities the most vulnerable and the most difficult to help

by Lord Longley

is more vulnerable than a minority majority, a group from the rest by difference of race, religion, or other cultural. This was no doubt the supreme claim of a society's claim to be civilized. This is also a no more arguable, in the field of human minorities suffer all, and are hardest

for any state flagrantly in defiance of the convention. But the worst cases of the oppression of minorities are no longer in Europe. Each distinct minority has its own distinct problems, but it is wrong to think they have nothing in common. Not only are the mechanisms of oppression universal—the denial of cultural identity in language or religion; the ruthless suppression of self-expression; discrimination in jobs, housing, education—but so, by and large, are the causes. Mr Ben Whitaker, former Labour MP and now director of the Minority Rights Group in London, says: "Ethnocentrism, the belief in the extraordinary values of one's own group, coupled with a suspicion of anything different, permeates homes, schools, books, and newspapers throughout the world. Prejudices, which are often used as pretexts for degrading political, social, economic opponents, provide men with excuses to exploit other classes, races or women. Leaders use them as calculated weapons: the led, expelled from the need for security, shelter behind such blinkers

and thereby are diverted from focusing upon the real causes of the injustices they are suffering. Minorities often reveal wider social problems. Much inter-ethnic conflict is due not to pluralism but to the imbalance of power. Prejudice, which is also capable of being self-fulfilling, can be reinforced by competition in jobs, sex or housing; and less well-off people are obviously those who are most vulnerable to a threat to their basic existence. This is an important diagnosis, not least because it comes from the man who heads the organization in the world to have studied the question of minority rights globally. The MRG has 19 different case histories to its credit, ranging from religious minorities in Russia to the gypsies of Europe, from the Nagas of India to the Montagnards of Vietnam.

This is the rule of minority as scapegoat for social injustice, minority as distraction from social injustice, the traditional lot of Jews in Europe and now blacks in contemporary Britain. It perhaps explains why the worst persecution of minorities appears to happen in the most socially disturbed, least just, or poorest societies. If the relationship is in part causative and not accidental, as Whitaker's analysis would suggest, then the theory would be its genuine long-term improvement in the status of a minority to the general improvement in the level of justice and prosperity in society as a whole. It is something of a challenge to paternalistic liberalism, which traditionally concentrates its efforts on alleviating the day-to-day symptoms of discrimination and oppression.

Minorities also represent a special threat. Permanently reminded by discrimination of their separate identity, there is an ever present risk that they might begin to assert that identity. Republicanism in Northern Ireland, Black Power in the

United States, Basque nationalism, the Biafran rebellion, the Kurdish revolt, and the militancy of the Jews of Russia all tell the same tale. No country that screws down the lid on a minority group can escape the consequences, and all too easily the situation can progress down a descending spiral of harsh legislation, persecution, police brutality, and torture. The ultimate logic, as the world knows, leads to the gas chambers. There is no other final solution to any minority problem at that end of the scale: each step leads to the next. Only a deliberate change of direction towards a fair, free, and just society can even secure relief for oppressed minority groups. That, basically, is the problem facing any organization which takes up the cause of a minority under pressure. The radical remedies re-

quired are quite outside its control. But some steps are possible as recent history has shown. It does appear that certain forms of private and public pressure from outside can check the descent of the spiral of repression, forcing states to greater toleration of minority self-expression than they might otherwise like, if left to their own devices. In the case of minority rights, outside organizations of this kind have a particular responsibility. Only a few of the world's major minority groups can look to the protection of a neighbouring country, as the Roman Catholic minority in Northern Ireland can look to the Republic, or as the Jews of Russia can look to Israel and to the Diaspora communities for help. Even societies marked by a high degree of political repression recognize that their standing in the world cannot be allowed to deteriorate too far. Public opinion outside their own frontiers is important to them, more important in some cases than opinion among their own citizens. This presents organizations

like MRG with one useful source of political leverage. For failing all else, recalcitrant governments can be brought to the bar of world opinion, and obliged to answer for their conduct. Is it sufficient to leave the defence of the world's most defenceless communities to one small privately financed British organization? Although now becoming recognized throughout the world for its work in this field, that in itself represents a danger as well as a tribute. Humanitarian organizations can too readily assume that minority rights are being cared for by others, and need no additional effort. The International Committee of the Red Cross, Amnesty International, the churches and other religious institutions, and those governments which conduct their international relations with an element of altruism, are no doubt happy to join in a chorus of condemnation once a situation of minority oppression is exposed, but who is to do the exposing? Almost by definition, there is no outside vested interest

that can benefit by such exposure in the majority of cases. There are neither votes nor profits to be made out of, say, the Montagnards, the Biharis, or Japan's Untouchables. A United Nations Commissioner for Minorities, working along the lines of the United Nations Commissioner for Refugees, is urgently required to direct and focus world attention, backed by resources proportionate to the need—which MRG freely admits it does not possess. A United Nations Commissioner in this field would be a far more formidable ally for a minority to have. It would be much more difficult for any state to get away with a policy of reprisal if the United Nations itself—for all its faults—was watching and seen to be watching. If the United Nations is to befriend the friendless in this way, it will only be when the world community has reached a level of maturity advanced enough to put aside self-interest. There are few governments in the world without a minority skeleton somewhere in the cupboard.

The twenty-fourth World Congress of the International Advertising Association open in Teheran on Thursday. Its theme is Communications in the Service of Human Rights. See page XI.

Journal of the



Article V
No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Eight complaints—and signs of possible strength in fragile investigation procedure

by Niall MacDermot
secretary-general,
International Commission
of Jurists

When the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations met early this year in New York it was called upon to consider for the first time under a new procedure a number of complaints of violations of human rights in eight widely differing countries. If the results were disappointing to many people, at least the new procedure was not strangled at birth as some had feared would happen.

The commission is composed of representatives of governments, and most governments, being afraid of exposure, were reluctant to develop an institution that might be used against them. Twenty years later, however, under the pressure of international opinion and with a changing political climate, a number of governments became so motivated

by other factors that they were ready to make some advances towards the international protection of human rights. This arose in particular in relation to colonialism and racial discrimination in southern Africa.

As a result of a decision by the Economic and Social Council in 1966, the Human Rights Commission in March, 1967, asked its sub-commission to prepare a report containing information "from all available sources" on violations of human rights and to bring to the attention of the commission any situation which it had reasonable cause to believe revealed a consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

A course of action was set in force which led to the adoption in 1970 by the council of an important resolution (No. 1503) establishing a detailed procedure for the investigation of complaints

similar to that recommended by the subcommission in 1967.

For many years the Secretary General has received between 30,000 and 30,000 complaints a year of violations of human rights in all parts of the world. Many are repetitive and often in vague and general terms. Many others, however, are specific and merit inquiry. Under the new procedure admissible communications may originate from individuals or groups who are victims of violations, from persons having direct knowledge of violations, or from non-governmental organizations acting in good faith and not politically motivated and having direct and reliable knowledge of such violations.

The new procedure calls for examination of these complaints in three stages. First, the United Nations secretariat refers the communications, as complaints are euphemistically termed,

to a working party of the subcommission. This meets for 10 days to consider them and refers those which "appear to reveal a consistent pattern of gross and reliably attested violations" to the subcommission. This in turn considers them for about two days, and then decides which to pass on to the Human Rights Commission.

In the first year of the new procedure the subcommission decided not to refer to the commission any of the three cases (Greece, Iran and Portugal) sent to it by the working party. Instead it sent them back to the working party to consider them further in the light of replies from governments. In this way a year was lost.

In the second year the working party referred eight cases to the subcommission (Brazil, Guyana, Indonesia, Iran, Burundi, Tanzania, Portugal and the United Kingdom). A judicious

balance was maintained, two countries being selected from four of the five blocks into which the nations are unofficially grouped within the United Nations, the Soviet block alone escaping scrutiny.

The third stage was reached for the first time this year. The Human Rights Commission, after examining the situations referred to it, is asked to determine "whether it requires a thorough study by the commission and a report and recommendations thereon to the Economic and Social Council" or "whether it may be a subject of an investigation by an ad hoc committee to be appointed by the commission, which shall be undertaken only with the express consent of the state concerned and shall be conducted in constant cooperation with that state and under conditions determined by agreement with it".

The distinction between a "thorough study" and an "investigation" is not very

clear, save that an investigation, depending as it does on the cooperation of the government concerned, is less likely to occur, but if it does, will presumably have the advantage of including evidence from both sides.

It is important to realize that this procedure is in essence a political and not a judicial one. It is more akin to an inquiry on the national plane by a parliamentary committee than to a decision by a court of justice. To be realistic, it will be difficult to obtain even the degree of impartiality sometimes found in parliamentary committees.

This does not mean that the procedure is valueless. It is a way of bringing pressure on governments to mend their ways with respect to human rights. Also, the very existence of the procedure shows that "consistent patterns of gross violations of human rights" are not, in the words of article 2(7) of the charter, "matters which are essentially within the domestic

jurisdiction of any state" and, therefore, excluded from United Nations intervention.

Of the eight cases referred this year to the Human Rights Commission it is believed that the complaints against Brazil referred to the torture and ill-treatment of prisoners; those against Guyana to racial discrimination, particularly in employment in the public service; against Indonesia to the prolonged detention without trial and ill-treatment of tens of thousands of political suspects; against Iran to the torture of political prisoners by the secret police; against Burundi to the tribal massacres of the Hutus by the ruling Tutsi minority; against Tanzania to the forced marriages of girls of Persian descent in Zanzibar; against Portugal to the ill-treatment of prisoners both in Portugal itself and in the overseas territories; and against the United Kingdom to the preventive detention and alleged

ill-treatment of suspects in Northern Ireland.

It is understood that there was little discussion in the commission of the merits of these complaints. Attention focused on the procedure to be adopted in handling them. Most if not all of the Soviet bloc, who have been hostile to the new procedure from the beginning, sought to have all these complaints referred back to the subcommission, which would effectively have killed it.

The majority eventually decided to set up a working party of the commission itself, to meet in a year's time to consider the complaints again in the light of any further replies from governments and any other relevant information available, and to report back to the commission. This decision illustrates the extreme sensitivity of the commission in dealing with complaints against governments in cases other than those which are repeatedly

raised by members of the commission.

Governments have opportunity to reply to communications at the before they are referred to the working party of the commission, and against subsequent stages. Governments yet another to reply to complaints which at least two were considered by the subcommission a year ago, and which would have been considered by the commission if the majority had not decided to set up a working party.

None the less, many with long experience struggle for more of the idea that the Nations felt satisfied the progress made in the 1503 procedure. It is the only procedure which in its application respects individual victims, a interested non-governmental organizations, and violations of human rights is a tender plant, which needs careful cultivation.

In the West, human rights are normally regarded as a political and cultural concept—in contrast to the Third World, where they are seen chiefly as questions of economics. Below, Maurice Cranston and Ian Brownlie discuss these differences in interpretation

Efforts to enforce the western tradition

"Human rights" is a fairly new name for what were once called "the rights of man". Mrs. Roosevelt encouraged the United Nations to speak of human rights when she found that the rights of man were understood in some parts of the world to include the rights of woman.

In the seventeenth century John Locke, the philosopher, and others, spoke of "natural rights" because the rights in question were derived from "natural law", or the universal principles of justice, rather than from the imperatives of positive law. This law distinction is, of course, the crucial one. A right can be one of two things: an entitlement a person has, because the authority and force of positive law decrees and upholds it; or a right may be something a person ought to have, because of a morally compelling claim to it.

Affirmations of human rights are characteristically affirmations of rights in the second sense: and there is a very ancient western tradition of belief both in the reality of natural law—a law higher than the universal principles—and of the universal rights which this law confers on all rational, sentient beings.

Greeks, Stoics, Romans, medieval Christians and

modern rationalists have sustained much the same concept of basic moral rights which every human being possesses simply by virtue of being human. They are not the kind of rights that are conferred exclusively by a particular society. They are rights that are earned. They are universal, and they are inherited, so to speak, with humanity itself. Their very generality, however, makes it hard to discern these rights clearly.

Hence, various attempts have been made to set down lists of human rights. John Locke, most often quoted as an authority on the subject, wrote of the rights to life, liberty and property.

The Bill of Rights enacted by the English Parliament after the "Glorious Revolution" in 1689 named also the right to trial by jury and prescribed that there should be neither excessive bail nor excessive fines, and outlawed cruel and unusual punishments. Locke's reasoning and the example of the English Bill of Rights had a great influence throughout the world. When the American states gained their independence, several issued declarations of rights adding to those that the English had named, the right to happiness, or, in more cautiously worded documents, the right to the pursuit of happiness.

The United States Constitution of 1789, with concurrent amendments, defined these rights in somewhat greater detail, and understandably so since the purpose was to translate moral rights into positive rights, by making them enforceable in American positive law.

Stirring but abstract document

The famous French *Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen*, which came out at much the same moment in history, named more or less the same civil and political rights, in language inspired more by English and American theory than by anything that belonged to French experience. It was a stirring document. But it had one great defect. It was abstract and idealistic, and had no force in positive law, as had both the English Bill of Rights and the American Constitution. It was no more than a declaration.

In 1948 there appeared another declaration on the same lines, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, passed and proclaimed by the United Nations. This was both less

and more than had been promised when the United Nations was founded during the Second World War, and charged with what Churchill called the mission of enthroning human rights. The United Nations declaration fell short of that objective because it provided no machinery for passing from the abstract exercise of naming human rights to the concrete exercise of upholding them.

At the same time it went beyond the original purpose by naming besides the traditional natural rights to life, liberty, fair treatment and so forth, various other more idealistic rights, such as the right to a decent standard of living, medicine and holidays with pay.

This introduction of "economic" rights was partly in response to the presence of the communist powers in the United Nations. The civil and political rights of the great western tradition hold an equivocal place in Marxist philosophy, while the material and economic needs of men are better understood.

The Council of Europe has achieved more. The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights, drawn up in Rome in 1950, was followed by the institution at Strasbourg of a Commission and a Court of Human Rights, bodies to which the individual has access as a petitioner if he believes that his rights as set out in the European Convention have been violated.

Universal, not just European

It is perhaps ironic that the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights is limited to the inhabitants of countries where political and civil human rights, that is, human rights as they have been understood in the western tradition, are already generally well respected by the governments concerned.

But if the western understanding of human rights is to some extent culture-bound, the rights set forth in the European Convention are not intended to be the rights of Europeans only, but to be the rights of all men. The European Convention is just as much a universal document, in this sense, as are the Universal Declaration and the Covenants of the United Nations. The European Convention confers some positive rights on inhabitants of

member states, but it claims moral rights for everyone; and indeed it would make no sense as a statement of human rights if it did not do so.

It is tempting to agree with Bentham's contention that no assertion of right makes sense unless it is an assertion of a positive right, rights actually enjoyed. But we should not agree with him too hastily. The word "right" does have its two meanings, both equally legitimate. Speaking of a moral right is just as sensible as talking of a positive right. Indeed, a large part of the justification of a claim to a positive right must be that it is a morally compelling claim.

Way to persuade people

To establish that a thing ought to be is the way to persuade people that it shall be. To say, for example, that all men have a right to freedom of movement is to dispute the justice of those governments which refuse to allow people to move freely.

And this is not to make anything so vague and utopian as a statement of aspiration and ideal; it is to put forward a claim of justice and morality, governments which restrain men's freedom, dignity and so forth. It is inevitable that the rights of one individual collide from time to time with those of another. Also, there may occasionally be a conflict between the rights of the individual and the security of the nation. But security in general is not something which is at odds with human rights, because it is itself a human right; it is part of the right to life.

The security of the individual is bound up with the security of the community: the private enjoyment of the right depends on the common enjoyment of the right. The demand for liberty and security is not a demand for two things that can only with difficulty be balanced or reconciled; it is a demand for two things that naturally belong together.

Part of the western understanding of human rights is the belief that a free country is safer than an unfree country. History gives us good grounds for continuing to think this is true.

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Variety of attitudes in Third World

The origins of thinking on "human rights" in the so-called Third World of Asia, Africa and Latin America are far more complex than those in the West. First, many individual politicians and intellectuals, revolutionary and gradualist alike, learnt the political morality of the West, often in highly idealized form, either in the various metropolitan centres of colonial empires or in local institutions permeated by European political thought.

Secondly, these same individuals not unreasonably started to make claims, in orthodox terms, that the principles so amply professed by Europeans should be applied to non-Europeans—in other words, their political and economic measures should give full faith and credit to their own concepts.

The political and moral foundations of many well-known figures in Africa and Asia are by no means radical. A surprising number are Christians, Muslims or Hindus. Dr. Kaunda espouses humanism. Mr. Nyerere's socialism is akin to Tom Paine's Rights of Man and not to revolutionary socialism.

Even when such figures resort to planning and state control of various kinds, the approach has tended to be that of Lloyd George's war cabinet—that major problems (poverty, malnutrition and the like) call for special measures as a matter of expediency rather than doctrine.

A constant in the history of the Afro-Asian peoples is the European's moral pretensions on the simple principle of consistency. At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 the Japanese delegation (qualified members of the "heavy squad" since victory in the Russo-Japanese war) had the temerity to ask that the League of Nations Covenant should include guarantees of racial and religious equality. This met with a refusal from other delegations: and thus it was that (apart from mandates) 1919-20 human rights standards were insisted upon only in minorities treaties affecting defeated states and states such as Poland which were "probationers" and products of the work of the Allied Supreme Council.

It is typical that, when the French turned their forces on Ho Chi Minh's infant republic in 1945 he defended his policy of setting up a provisional government by saying: "Not only is our act in line with the Atlantic and San Francisco charters, solemnly proclaimed by the allies, but it entirely conforms with the glorious principles upheld by

the French people, viz liberty, equality and fraternity."

Since about 1955 a large number of Afro-Asian states, including the new China, have been active in international life, and it is now possible to give a reasonably clear picture of the special elements in the attitude of the developing states towards human rights. This picture of "special elements" involves a risk of creating distortions. First, the background of ideas is fairly orthodox, and the picture already sketched.

Secondly, the developing states exhibit considerable variety of theory and practice. Nevertheless, certain themes have emerged with considerable clarity and persistence. In the first place, the developing states wish to give emphasis to economic and social rights as necessary companions to the classical civil and political rights. When the human rights covenants were put in final form in 1966 by the United Nations Organisation there were two instruments, an international covenant on civil and political rights and an international covenant on economic, social and cultural rights.

The importance attached to the latter by the developing countries is well attested, in principle if not always in practice. Economic, social and cultural rights are exemplified by the right to work, the right to social security and the right to education.

Such rights complement civil and political rights: thus, for example, the poor man has little chance of reasonable access to modern and urban justice in the higher courts in the absence of legal aid. The strategy of looking at the economic foundations, and at the insufficiency of formal equality involves insisting on positive state provision.

The novel points of Third World thinking on human rights are: the principle of self-determination; the principle of racial equality; insistence upon the economic foundations of human rights. Apart from these, politicians and lawyers of the Third World would argue that their approach is not unorthodox and that their special interests are not antithetical to the civil and political rights, but rather complementary and even necessarily antecedent.

This may be so in a general way, but there are tensions that are too often ignored. One category of tensions derives from the psychological and political sources of scepticism. These are genuine enough, but are sometimes

used to excuse the more or less autonomous deficiencies of Third World governments.

And, after whose standard of living is generally in inverse proportion to the contribution they make to social and economic progress. The sources of Third World scepticism are familiar. First, resentment at past despotic rule and exploitation. The practices of western civilization in China, the Belgian Congo, French Equatorial Africa and other areas, are well described by professional historians. It is perhaps time that the West owned some of its bad practices, much in the same way as it calls for the Soviet authorities to disown Stalinist practices.

Corrosive impression of hypocrisy

Secondly, and connected with the first, is the corrosive impression of hypocrisy resulting from an unscrupulous concern for the rule of law after independence. The concern for the rule of law, racialism and settler-inspired expropriation of the best land in some colonies, before independence.

Thirdly, there is the feeling that western states readily resort to emergency powers and national government in contexts described by them as justifying crisis measures, but fail to accept under development and actual famine as crises ranking with those normally created only by war in affluent states.

Fourthly, there is a realization that western official opinion tends to become sensitive to human rights only when a régime is unsound politically and in rebellion, or protection of foreign investment. Sukarno's Indonesia was the object of much criticism; but although no more attached to the rule of law than the previous régime, it has been free of adverse comment. Indeed, while *The Times* was reporting mass

sacres of not fewer than 300,000 in 1965-66, a standing credit was extended by the Labour Government.

The sources of tension itemized so far are important in their effects but they are superficial; the problems of substance will remain even if the Third World chooses to ignore the past, and the hypocrisy of some of its critics. The propaganda and more serious sources of difficulty are what may be called structural problems. These matters of essence can best be indicated by example. The principle favour-

ing economic development a major objective may be called for, and conditions of work conform to standards of ILO conventions.

There is "the three equal relations" of foundations" problem. If a group of alien religious, racial or ethnic minorities, to apply citizens have economic or social monopoly, "discrimination" may sometimes be necessary to distribute justice.

There are dominant minorities as well as minorities. To apply human rights to a minority may result in a hierarchy in which religious, racial or ethnic divisions would remain.

For economically groups, such as Indians and "benevolent discrimination" may be called for, and the like. "Level operations" such as quotas to increase universities, may be called for, and the like. The position is threatened.

The more ambitious standards have too far ahead of and political fact societies. Internal standards are mostly national systems of merit. The development may suffer, at least in the short run, if the principles are their statement. Nations bodies and social structures are concerned.

National progress brought into a bet with international standards. The developing states find it necessary to national government consistency between practice and their as in the past: to make overloads apply principles. It is context.

Declaration stronger than armies

continued from page 1

for granted, or more rigorously defended, as a basic right than that of property. But the declaration of principles by the Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment (1972) calls for a number of points for planning, management and control of resources, which must reduce or restrict established property rights.

Further, while the universal declaration said that "everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property", we search the pages of the United Nations covenants in vain for such a principle: in fact, with the assent of more than 100 countries they do not mention a right of property at all. *Verbum sapienti.*

But demands for economic self-determination and security have been intensified in face of the multinational corporations and the presence of many foreign pres-

ences or traders. So the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Covenant states that "developing countries, with due regard to human rights and their national economy, may determine to what extent they would guarantee the economic rights recognized in the present covenant to non-nationals".

The multinational corporations are skilled at presenting a face of innocence and political helplessness, but there is no doubt that their economic power or influence, whether abused or not, is greater than that of many governments. Against them the clause in the covenant may be justified; but as it is also to be read as a means of erosion of the long-accepted minimum standard of treatment of foreign workers or traders, it can only be of comfort to General Amin.

Liberal democracy—sees human rights largely in terms of the protection of the individual against the state, but in the industrialized countries at least the state is in decline in face of the technologies of commu-

nications, resource management and industrial organization; its institutions, whether liberal or dirigiste, are, to borrow Walter Bagehot's distinction, becoming increasingly theatrical rather than efficient.

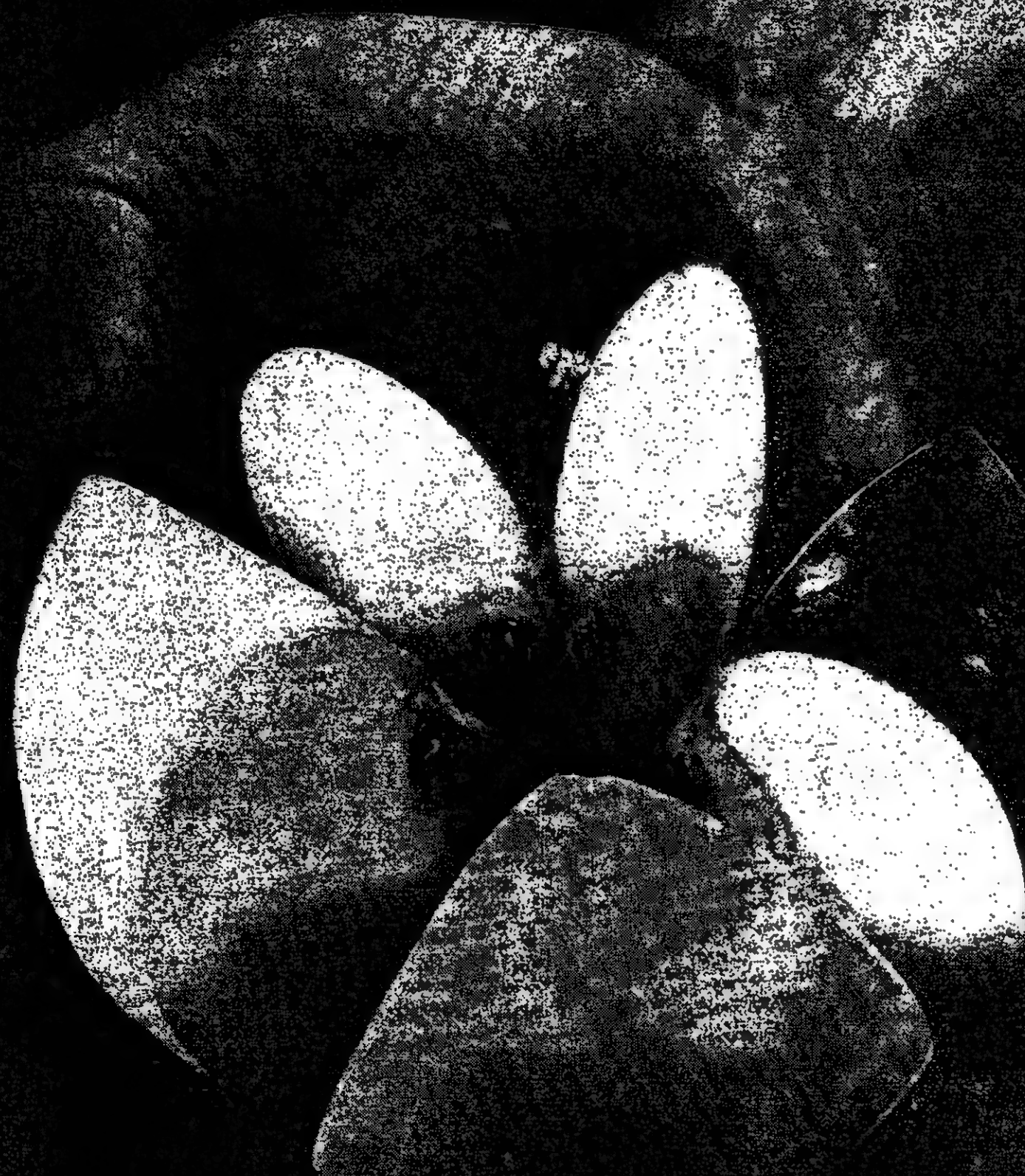
Hence simple enunciations of the freedom to receive and impart information, and of respect for private life, and of the limited public restrictions permitted on them, lose most of their traditional force in such contexts as subliminal advertising, direct satellite broadcasting, secrecy on sources of environmental pollution, personal data compilation and retrieval, and industrial espionage.

Some of these forces are virtually beyond public restriction or control, as the Soviet Union is acutely aware in the case of direct satellite broadcasting; and it is in any case meaningless to claim either the freedom of information, or the power to restrict this freedom, in such areas without a clearer view of common interests than we have begun to form.

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ARE LIMBS OF ONE ANOTHER.
EACH OF THE SELFSAME
SUBSTANCE AS HIS BROTHER**

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Patchwork of freedoms has led to fragmentation of their defence

Soviet Union: curbs contradict constitution in practice and in law

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(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.
(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Brazil: primary education handicaps literacy movement

By Bradford

So many other things in the seriousness of the problem depends on point of view. Looked in one angle, great progress has been made. Illiterates have dropped from 40 per cent in 1960 to 33 per cent in 1970, and 21 per cent in 1973. In numbers, however, everything changes. 1,000 illiterates in 1960, 17,900,000 in 1970, and 21 million in 1973. The teachers are run-of-the-mill, but the masses of illiterates keep overgrowing.

In the military coup in 1964, the Movement for Basic Education (MEB), a literacy movement organized by the Roman Catholic Church with financial support from the Federal Government, suffered an enormous blow. Being a tiny, imaginative educational system developed by Paulo Freire, MEB had both to encourage the participation of the illiterate in the classroom and to increase the social awareness of the newly literate by teaching the reading and writing with an increased understanding of the social situation in which students lived.

As a result, MEB was regarded as subversive by military leaders—perhaps not so much from their own MEB funds and to a virtual scandalous leader, after three years of protracted studies, negotiations, the Movimento Brasileiro de Alfabetização (Meb)—finally got way. It operates in contracts drawn up by the local municipal governments. Although it uses of Paulo Freire's teaching, this movement (as name suggests) is organized in relation to the specific problem of literacy. Reading and writing are seen simply as technical skills that are an essential precondition of modern, industrialized society.

Assessed on these criteria MEB has had considerable success: approximately six million people, scattered all over Brazil's 3,553 municipalities, had been awarded diplomas by the end of 1973, after attending MEB's basic five-month literacy course. For MEB to have reached so many people in just over two years is a considerable achievement, possibly justifying both the considerable international interest that has been shown in the movement and the claim frequently repeated by Senator Marco Antônio Simonsen (formerly director of MEB and now Minister of Finance) that MEB is "the world's largest literacy movement."

One of the more unusual aspects of MEB is the way it is financed—the funds come from a football lottery and from a 1 per cent income tax made voluntarily by about 70,000 companies. Although MEB absorbs only 7 per cent of the revenue from the lottery (and 46 per cent goes to support the capital market), it is to some extent an answer to the people who strongly criticized the Government for establishing the lottery in 1970. These critics claimed that, besides providing poorly paid workers with yet another way of wasting money desperately needed by their families, the lottery was also an indirect way of making the poor finance an even larger share of the cost of Brazilian development.

MEB has proved to be resourceful and ingenious in its response to immediate, practical problems. The organizers, with considerable

justification, refuse to allocate a large proportion of their budget (163.3m cruzeiros, about £10m, in 1972) for the building of classrooms. They prefer to make use of available rooms, even if these are dilapidated.

In some of the poorer regions this policy has caused problems. At the end of last year, the Recife branch needed 600 classrooms but could find only 375. It was estimated that MEB was turning away 5,000 new pupils daily because of the shortage. The problem was partly solved by using 60 old buses, given to MEB by the municipal bus company.

MEB has also been outward looking in its willingness to work with other organizations. In August, 1973, it signed an agreement with the Rondon Project, a rapidly developing voluntary movement which has development centres, run by university students, in many backward regions all over Brazil. Now MEB will be collaborating on a permanent basis with these centres, organizing special projects and carrying out surveys into literacy levels.

In April, the new director, Senhor Arlindo Lopes Pereira, said MEB was also planning to carry out a programme of preventive medicine to improve the health of those attending the courses. Special attention is to be given to ophthalmic treatment, as it is estimated that half the students are suffering from untreated weaknesses or eye diseases that are seriously impairing their capacity to take full advantage of the courses.

Despite its considerable achievements, MEB has also had its critics. First, many people have argued that MEB does not really provide its students with a sufficient basic education, as it is too concerned with re-

cording numerical successes, thus neglecting quality for quantity. Instances have occurred of diplomas being granted to students who were scarcely capable of writing their own names. MEB has taken some measures to correct this distortion, instituting a one-year course of integrated education for the newly literate.

Second, attention has been drawn to the extremely high drop-out rate, about 50 per cent. The somewhat boring, standardized form of the lessons, given by inadequately trained teachers, has been blamed. It would seem, however, that the socio-economic circumstances of many of the students are a more important factor.

The illiterate are obviously concentrated among the poorer sections of the community and the effects of the "Brazilian miracle" have not yet seeped down to these sectors. As one of the teachers said recently, it is not easy to sustain the students' inter-



Playtime in São Paulo. Despite a fall in illiteracy rates, teachers have a fight on their hands to stop a decline caused by population pressures.

Black Africa: wide gap between theory and practice

by Patrick Gilkes

Black Africa has tended to see the problems of human rights in terms of the white regimes of the southern part of the continent. This emphasis has inhibited discussion on human rights in the rest of Africa, and it has reinforced a scale of priorities in which such rights have been widely and frequently subordinated to political and economic factors.

There are valid historical reasons for this state of affairs. The legacy left by the colonial powers, and the neo-colonialist problems that followed, have enforced a concentration on the right to development, and on the need for national unity and identity. In many cases this is still found to be an overriding necessity.

The main problems in Africa are not connected with the legal recognition of human rights. All states have constitutions and codes that guarantee the basic rights. Not all of these can be made effective, however, even when the will to do so is there. Economic factors make it impossible for most states to accept fully such rights as the free choice of jobs, the right to work, to education, to health and to a standard of living.

Although most states have recognized their validity, there are still all too many exceptions—particularly where minorities are concerned, and where tribal factors have affected the arguments.

A much wider gap between theory and practice comes with the consideration of political and civil rights—including the right to take part in government, to life, to property and to freedom of expression, to assembly and to association. While all these are protected legally, in practice they are denied in varying degrees in nearly all African states. In particular, the use of arbitrary arrest and detention without trial is on the increase.

It is significant that at a seminar held last year in Dar es Salaam on the problems and needs of human rights in Africa, many participants felt that discussion of such points fell within the domestic purview of the states concerned and should therefore be avoided.

A widely-shared opinion quoted in the seminar report was that "the exigencies of economic growth may at times justify the temporary subordination of the interests and rights of the individual

to those of the state." Few states will admit that political or economic necessity leads to anything but the temporary suppression of human rights—but nearly all African states have detention laws and emergency regulations to supplement the usually considerable safeguards of ordinary legislation.

Even where the legislative devices exist for individual protection, these are often no more than a dead letter. Examples are not hard to find. Malawi is detaining more than 1,000 people without trial. Chad, Ethiopia, Guinea, Morocco, and above all Uganda are particular offenders at the moment.

Amnesty International's report on torture last year indicates that in these circumstances the use of torture is becoming much more common. It produces evidence from 11 African countries: Burundi, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Ghana, Malawi, Morocco, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Zambia and Zanzibar.

These activities are always covered by the umbrella of national security and unity. In fairly modern states, and those that have inherited tribal situations, this is not surprising. Opposition has become equated with disloyalty. The aftermath of the colonial situation left political situations that were often virtually unworkable, as well as a pattern of repressive legislation to be copied.

Reactions of this type have a habit of becoming semi-permanent, and a tendency to spread beyond the purely political into such areas as religion. The treatment of Jehovah's Witnesses in Malawi is a case in point.

The two areas where most has been done are in self-determination and refugees. In the first case, the emphasis has been chiefly on attempts to liberate the majorities in Southern Africa. The Organization for African Unity has played some part, as have individual countries, in helping the liberation movements to keep up the pressure on these areas.

There are also a number of liberation movements that operate within independent African countries. The attitude to such movements makes it clear that the right of self-determination is not considered to operate for the minorities within such states.

In the case of refugees there is record has been more impressive, particularly again in regard to refugees from colonial and racial domination in the south. Nevertheless, many African countries have not yet ratified either the United Nations Convention of 1967, or the Organization of African Unity Convention on Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa of 1969.

One inhibiting factor has undoubtedly been the economic difficulties. The millions of refugees forced out of their homes by the disaster of the Sahelian drought constitute a problem that is just too big. Another factor has been the political uses to which refugees can sometimes be put.

In the 1960s the Eritrean refugees in Sudan, and the southern Sudanese in Ethiopia, were used as bargaining counters in border and political discussions between the two countries.

The approach to the refugee problem does, however, point the way for other areas of human rights. It has been the subject of an OAU convention. There is scope for other conventions or commissions to deal with other rights in the African context.

One argument frequently put forward is that the whole concept of human rights is a European, or a white, interest. Many of the organizations concerned—such as Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists, the Red Cross and the various Churches and Labour groups—tend to be founded and largely based in Europe and North America.

While they may have regional offices and groups in Africa, there is certainly room for much more African participation in their efforts, as well as an African approach to such matters as bride prices.

There is certainly a case to be made out for an African equivalent of the European Commission on Human Rights. This, like the idea for an African convention on human rights, has been suggested to the OAU but has not yet been taken up. Both need to be considered as urgent priorities, and could play a useful part in advancing the cause of Pan-Africanism.

The record of human rights movements in Black Africa is not impressive, except with relation to the white regimes in the south. There is a great deal to be done, and some of it at least, is well within the political and economic possibilities.

South Africa: pressure groups condemned as subversive

By Shaw

Human rights movements in South Africa are kept alive by a small voluntary movement known as the Civil Rights League, based in Johannesburg, and the Black and White Women's Group. Civil Rights League was established in 1948, the year of the fall of the Smuts government, with the main aim of defending the parliamentary franchise of the coloured (mixed race) South. The new Nationalist government, under Dr Malan, pledged to abolish the franchise common roll franchise, which it did in the 1950s after a prolonged constitutional crisis.

Since then the Civil Rights League has acted as a pressure group, seeking to influence public opinion through letters to the press, public meetings, and press statements. It also makes direct representations to ministers and to government departments in particular cases, such as the death in detention of the Cape Muslim leader, the Imam Haron, a few years ago.

The league has had little success in arresting the legislative trend against individual liberties in South Africa, which has intensified since the disturbances of the early 1960s, with legislation providing for detention without trial becoming part of the ordinary law of the land.

The league has, however, kept alive a tradition of vigorous protest against infringements of civil rights, notably the Government's use of its banning powers, which was used to silence anti-apartheid activists, prohibiting them from attending public gatherings and barring newspapers from publishing their utterances.

With its members mainly engaged in academic or professional life, the league strives to maintain public awareness of the value of freedom of expression and assembly and the right to trial in open court. It cannot claim spectacular success.

The Black Sash organization, which has been set up to assist those caught in the tangle of pass laws which restricts the movements of Africans in South Africa. It also provides funds for the legal defence of pass offenders in the courts.

For the rest, bodies such as the South African Institute of Race Relations, the National Union of South African Students and the Christian Institute concern themselves with human rights. These three organizations are at present under investigation by the Schabas Commission, a parliamentary body, whose critics liken its functions to the McCarthyism of the United States in the 1950s.

As an indication of the general climate in which such organizations are operating, remarks made in 1972 by Mr P. W. Botha, the Minister of Defence, are instructive. After a symposium on con-

scientious objection organized by the Civil Rights League in Cape Town, Mr Botha said in a parliamentary speech that there was a deliberate attempt by leftist and communist organizations to destroy national service systems. Measures would have to be taken to prevent such people from destroying the stability of the country.

Mr Botha rejected Opposition suggestions that conscientious objectors should be allowed to work in hospitals, on fire stations or as ambulance men for double the national service period rather than go to jail.

under article 28 of the covenant when it came into operation.

The Australian Government has given no indication that it will sign or ratify the important protocol, or even that it will participate in the complaints procedure outlined in article 41 of the covenant. Instead, the Government has its own Human Rights Act introducing necessary variations on the terms of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and apparently denying the individual benefits of both of the complaints procedures provided in the covenant.

The Government has thus substituted its own judgment both for that of the General Assembly of the United Nations and also for that of the United Nations Human Rights Committee. In doing so it has provoked opposition which human rights advocates regard as largely irrelevant, placing the blame on the Government.

Australia: good intentions have gone astray

by Herbert Michael

The most serious protagonists of human rights in Australia are the various civil liberties organizations, which usually confine themselves to specific injustices within their state boundaries and are generally concerned with individual cases, and the Human Rights Committee of the United Nations Association of Australia.

The most active branch of this organization is in Victoria. The chairman of the committee is Mr Stanley W. Johnston, chairman of the Criminology Department at the University of Melbourne. Its latest recent objective has been a Bill of Rights introduced in the national Parliament at Canberra. This Bill aroused opposition from some of the churches, notably the Roman Catholic, and from the opposition Liberal and Country parties as an interference with the rights of the individual and a threat to family life. Mr Gough Whitlam, the Prime Minister, took note of these objections and promised that an effort would be made to meet them.

When he delivered an address at the Australian National University in Canberra, on the occasion of the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Mr Whitlam praised the United Nations human rights movements. This was the first time that an Australian Prime Minister had attended a function arranged by the United Nations Association of Australia.

Mr Whitlam told the gathering: "It is the intention of my Government to proceed with ratification of the covenants on civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights as soon as enabling legislation has been passed by Parliament."

However, despite the fact that this enabling legislation was amended to meet the objections of the churches and others, the sudden dissolution of Parliament prevented the legislation being proceeded with. The Senate, where the opposition had a majority, would not have passed it in any case. Mr Johnston has pointed out that although the Government had signed covenants it had ignored the protocol to the covenants on civil and political rights.

At a recent conference in Canberra various representatives of the human rights movement met government representatives and discussed the situation. Despite the fears expressed from time to time that the human rights movement might have its freedom of operation curtailed because the conference was funded by the Australian Government, the spokesmen of the movement were quite free and frank in their expressions of opinion.

They made specific proposals to the Government on how to give effect to the United Nations covenants. They told the conference that they thought Mr Whitlam had been misled by Conservative advisers into believing parliamentary legislation was required for ratification of the covenants, and they emphasized that such legislation was definitely not required. Only by government ratification of the protocol could the human rights of the Australian today be significantly enlarged.

The protocol would give individuals direct access to the Human Rights Committee, which would be set up

under article 28 of the covenant when it came into operation.

The Australian Government has given no indication that it will sign or ratify the important protocol, or even that it will participate in the complaints procedure outlined in article 41 of the covenant. Instead, the Government has its own Human Rights Act introducing necessary variations on the terms of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and apparently denying the individual benefits of both of the complaints procedures provided in the covenant.

The Government has thus substituted its own judgment both for that of the General Assembly of the United Nations and also for that of the United Nations Human Rights Committee. In doing so it has provoked opposition which human rights advocates regard as largely irrelevant, placing the blame on the Government.

Mr Johnston has summed up the situation in the following words: "Australia is lagging behind in the ratification of the human rights covenants and no local legislation can ever put us in the

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AN ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE IMPERIAL ORGANISATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICES



Her Imperial Highness Princess Ashraf Pahlavi. The Princess works tirelessly for the welfare of the sick and needy. As President of the Women's Organisation of Iran and the Iranian Human Rights Committee and Deputy President of the Imperial Organisation for Social Services and the Iranian National Committee for the Campaign against Illiteracy she is actively engaged in a wide variety of projects for the improvement of health and education services in Iran.

Welfare, medicare network extends across Iran

The welfare of the sick and needy has always been a matter of great concern to His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah and under his guidance and that of his sister, Her Imperial Highness Princess Ashraf, an organisation called the Imperial Organisation for Social Services has spent the last twenty seven years working to combat poverty, ignorance and disease.

Established by Imperial decree in the difficult days following the end of World War Two the IOSS was the first welfare organisation in the long history of Iran. Its aim, as stated in the statutes of its foundation, was "to raise the level of health and education among the poorer classes of the population."

To fulfil this aim the IOSS has created a vast network of hospitals, clinics and maternal and child health centres; established its own pharmaceutical factory supply medicines at low cost; set up one of the largest publishing houses in the world to print the millions of books it distributes free among schoolchildren; started the country's foremost vocational training centres; rebuilt villages wiped out by earthquakes and floods and given generous support to a variety of other welfare organisations which have come into being.

Health has always been the prime concern of IOSS and the organisation has tackled the problem of raising health standards from all possible angles.

In the early days priority was given to remedying the acute shortage of medical facilities. Since its establishment, the Organisation has built three major hospitals with more than 600 beds; several smaller hospitals, 255 rural clinics and 140 maternal health centres. More than 70 million patients have been treated at these institutions. Extension of these facilities is now being carried out according to a new plan drawn up this year. The plan divides the country into a number of zones each of which shall have a complete network of medical facilities on four levels. Each zone shall have one major hospital which will provide a total range of services. Under each hospital there will be an aid station, under each station 4 clinics and under each clinic 3 rural dispensaries.

Hospitals

The largest of the IOSS hospitals is the 250-bed Reza Pahlavi Medical Centre in the suburbs of Tehran. The function of the hospital was formerly limited to the practice of curative medicine. Under the new IOSS health plan the Reza Pahlavi has been turned into a major research and training centre as well. With the help of experts from Johns Hopkins University in the U.S.A. the IOSS is training doctors and specialists in all branches of medicine. At the same time the number of departments at the hospital has been expanded. These departments include pediatrics, gynaecology, surgery, heart treatment, cobalt therapy, neurology, intensive care and a maternity ward. The hospital also operates a mobile clinic which tours outlying areas.

The second hospital established by the IOSS was the 260-bed Nekul hospital in the holy city of Qom in the heart of Iran. This hospital has recently been enlarged and now contains wards for internal diseases, surgical cases, maternity, gynaecology, pediatrics, heart patients and ear, nose and throat. It also has a large radiology department, a blood bank, a casualty department and a family planning unit. Included in the Nekul hospital is the 60-bed Hedayati Maternity Home added in 1969 and a 50-bed children's hospital built by local philanthropists in 1971.

The third largest hospital is the 100-bed Farah Pahlavi hospital opened in the Caspian resort of Ramsar in 1962. A new complex of buildings has just been added to this hospital. There are now wards for internal diseases, surgical cases, gynaecology, paediatrics and casualty and dental departments.

In 1971 another hospital was opened at Baskia-Kurab near Lahijan in Gilan. Named the Ahmad Qavam hospital after the philanthropist who built it, the hospital has 25 beds for surgical and gynaecological cases. Steps are being taken to expand facilities.

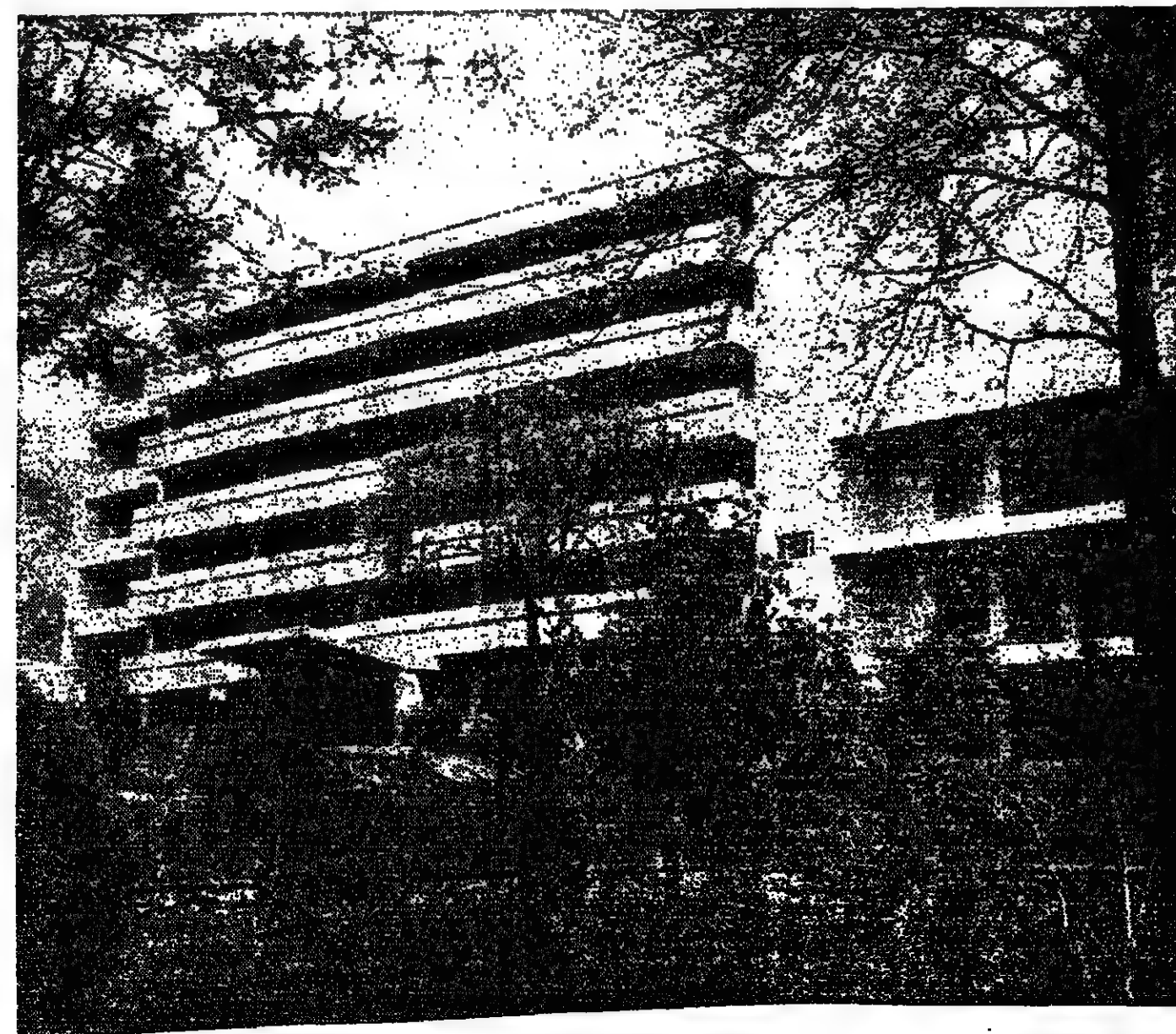
Other smaller hospitals belonging to the IOSS include a 25-bed unit at Ashdian in the Central Province and 10-20 bed units in Shushtar, Golpayegan, Davarabad (Garmsar), Sarakhs on the Russian border and Qeshm Island in the Persian Gulf.

To date 3,515,234 patients have been treated at these hospitals and over 370,000 surgical operations have been performed.

Another hospital rebuilt by the IOSS is the 150-bed Sina emergency hospital in downtown Tehran which has been donated to Tehran University and is now run by members of the University Medical Faculty.



A young boy learns a trade at the Reza Pahlavi Vocational School.



The Reza Pahlavi Hospital in Tehran.

An even more significant achievement in creating a network of health services in a vast country which contains 67,000 villages scattered over difficult terrain was the building by the IOSS of 255 rural clinics, providing free treatment and free medicine to hundreds of thousands of villagers who had never seen a doctor before. Over 65 million patients have been treated at the rural clinics. Their services are complemented by 140 maternal and child health centres which provide free food and care for mothers and babies. To date over 5 million mothers and children have been cared for by these centres and 2 million kilos of dried milk have been distributed.

In addition to providing basic medical services the IOSS clinics and MCH centres also make an important contribution to higher health standards through education of the rural population in hygiene and cleanliness. Knowing that the best way to tackle health problems is at their source the IOSS places great stress on cleaning up of the environment through the laying of piped water networks, the construction of modern bath-houses, abattoirs and mortuaries, strict sanitation control of shops and restaurants and through health inspection of school children.

The most important of its preventative measures has been an energetic inoculation campaign against prevalent diseases such as smallpox and cholera. Over 60 million inoculations have been given free of charge to date. A number of highly specialised health projects have been carried out with great success. The most noteworthy was the eradication of trachoma in the town of Dezful in south Iran where 9 out of every 10 people were suffering from this terrible eye disease in 1949. The campaign was conducted on two levels: direct treatment of trachoma victims and a massive town cleaning drive which resulted in a virtual tearing down and rebuilding of the town.

Other specialised IOSS health projects have included aid to the blind and rehabilitation of lepers.

The IOSS role in improving health standards is not limited to direct action in the field. Careful consideration of the problems has led to a wide network of supporting services without which the total programme could not operate effectively. Hospitals and clinics are not much use without doctors or nurses but when the IOSS was set up the number of these was sadly inadequate. Training of medical and paramedical personnel, therefore, has always been a key feature of IOSS activities. Iran's first school of nursing, the Princess Ashraf School of Nursing was set up in 1949 to provide free nursing training. The school has trained 1,400 Iranian girls as nurses so far and several hundred others are taking the 3 year course at present. Nursing aides are trained at the Farah Pahlavi Behvari Institute established in 1962 and the Reza Pahlavi Behvari Institute opened in 1968. To date 162 aides have been trained at Ramsar and 89 in Tehran. As mentioned earlier doctors and other medical specialists are being trained at Reza Pahlavi Medical Centre.

Pharmaceutical factory

Another problem tackled successfully by the IOSS has been the high and sometimes prohibitive cost of foreign imported medicines. This problem was solved through the foundation of an Iranian pharmaceutical manufacturing unit, the Darupaksh Company established with an investment of 1 billion rials and now the largest drug producer in the Middle East. Equipped with the most modern facilities the Darupaksh factory has been steadily expanded until it now makes 260 different products. Its newest division is a unit for the manufacture of pills for injections. Since it opened in 1963 Darupaksh has made and distributed 800 million tablets and capsules, 60 million injections, 10 million tins and tubes of ointment, 2 million bottles of liquid oral medicine, 1 million bottles of eyedrops and 800,000 litres of intravenous fluids annually. Besides supplying IOSS requirements the Darupaksh factory also sells its products on the local market, a factor which helps to stabilise medicine prices in general.

In 1972 the IOSS took its pharmaceutical programme a step further with the establishment of an Iranian Centre for Research in the field of Chemistry and Pharmaceutical Sciences. Formed to reduce Iran's dependency on foreign suppliers of drugs and medicines, the new centre will eventually produce many of the basic raw ingredients at present imported and hopefully develop new medicines of its own.

Another example of the IOSS broad approach to health problems is its vigorous family planning work. A traditionally high birth rate with resultant pressures on the poor has long been an obstacle to improved public health and the IOSS lays greater emphasis on the importance of reducing the size of the family in the interest of the mother and children. Family planning sections have been set up at all IOSS clinics throughout the country and

staff are being specially trained to acquaint parents with the advisability of birth control as well as to instruct them in birth control techniques. Pills and IUDs are being given free of charge.

Book publishing

IOSS activities in the field of education have been concentrated in two fields: the provision of free textbooks for schoolchildren and the establishment of vocational schools. Since starting its book programme in 1957 the IOSS has distributed 160,924,590 free textbooks among elementary students at Ministry of Education schools. To produce these books as cheaply as possible the IOSS founded the 25th Shahriyar Press which is equipped with offset and letter press printing shops and binding departments. With an annual output of over 50 million books and magazines a year the press is one of the biggest in the world.

Vocational training

The IOSS vocational training programme was started in 1963 with the establishment in Tehran of the Reza Pahlavi Vocational School to train skilled and semi-skilled workers urgently needed by the nation's growing number of industrial enterprises. Last year similar schools were opened in Isfahan and Shiraz and more are planned for other regional centres in the future.

In addition to these programmes the IOSS has contributed to education through the construction of two student dormitories for Tehran University, the provision of grants for needy undergraduates and generous cash donations to various educational institutions. It has donated 250 million rials to the Aryamehr Technical University and 40 million rials to the Jundi Shapur Medical College; it also contributes 30 million rials a year to the Women's Organisation of Iran for educational projects.

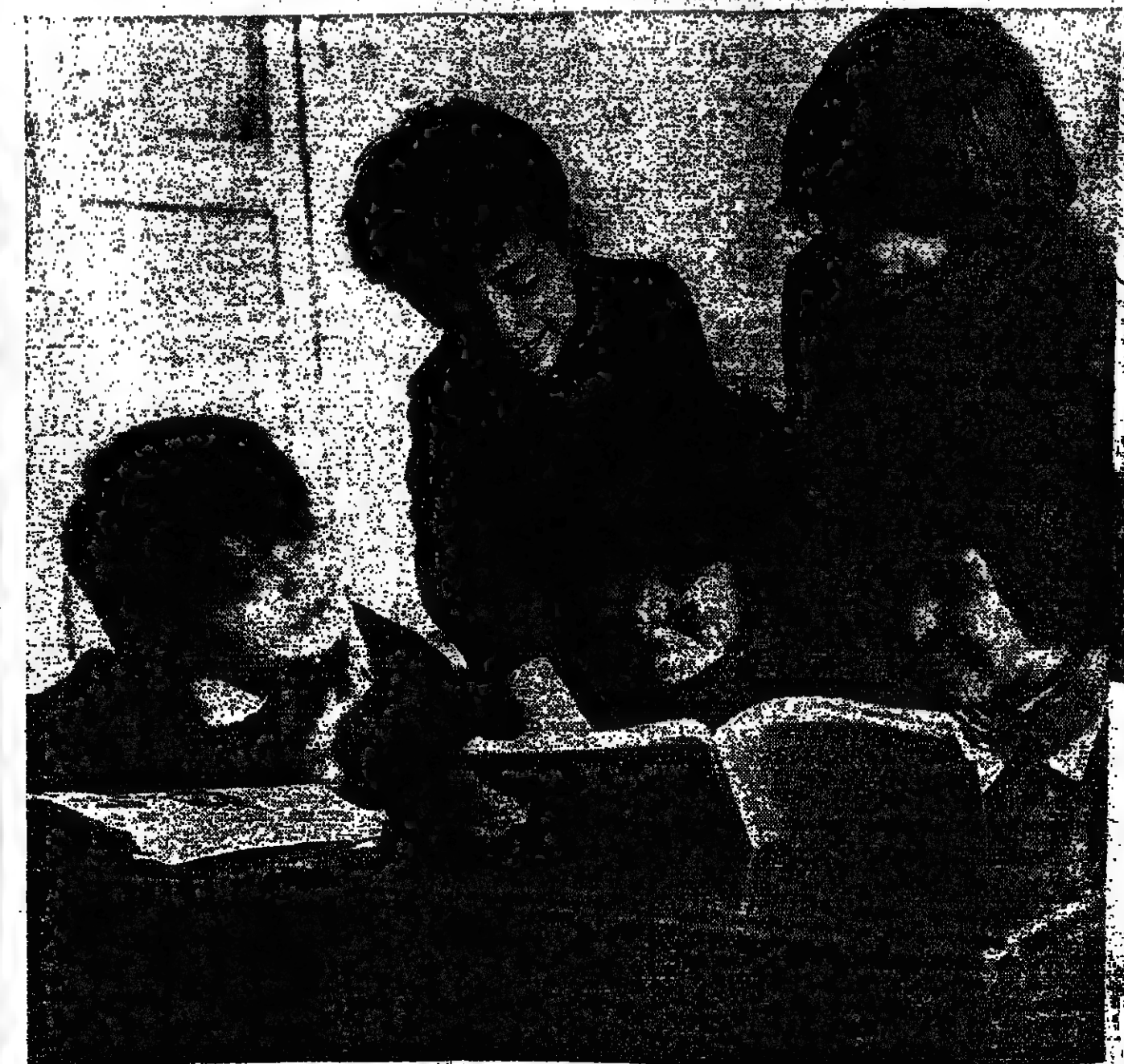
A special fund is reserved for urgent relief work after natural disasters such as earthquakes and floods. Thousands of victims of these natural catastrophes have received food and bedding provided by the IOSS. The organisation also undertakes rehabilitation programmes. Forty families who lost their homes in the Qazvin earthquake some years ago are now living in IOSS houses in the village of Valfabad.

The Organisation's concern for the welfare of the sick and needy does not stop at the boundaries of Iran. Though its primary commitment is to improve health and education at home the IOSS has also contributed to a number of worthy causes abroad, including the hungry of Africa and flood victims in Pakistan.

In all its activities the Imperial Organisation for Social Services receives inspiration and guidance from Her Imperial Highness Princess Ashraf. Besides playing a very active part in the planning and supervision of IOSS projects the Princess is able to coordinate these programmes with those of the other organisations in which she is involved, particularly the Iranian Human Rights Committee, the Iranian National Committee for the World-wide Campaign against Illiteracy and the Women's Organisation of Iran.



An IOSS doctor examines a young patient at one of the 25 rural clinics built by the Organisation in rural areas.



Primary school children with free books supplied by the Imperial Organisation for Social Services.

A STATEMENT BY THE IRANIAN COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
AND THE IRANIAN WOMEN'S ORGANISATION

CONTINUING THE CYRUS TRADITION IN HUMAN RIGHTS



Former U.N. Secretary General U Thant welcomes Her Imperial Highness Princess Ashraf to a meeting of the U.N. Human Rights Commission in New York.

Two thousand five hundred years ago Cyrus the Great went down in history as the first world leader in human rights. He ruled the Persian Empire with wisdom and tolerance based on the belief that all human beings, whatever their race or creed, are entitled to freedom and justice. A similar conviction inspires the leadership of modern Iran. The Shahanshah's spectacular reform programme, the White Revolution, with its redistribution of land, its workers' profit sharing schemes, its equity courts and its development, health and literacy campaigns are positive proof of the Sovereign's dedication to the principles of human rights.

To reinforce his reform policies the Shahanshah set up in 1963 a special Iranian Committee on Human Rights charged with protecting the new rights of the individual and with carrying out research into ways in which Iranian laws may be amended to achieve complete fulfilment of the UN Declaration of Human Rights.

Supreme President of the Committee is Her Imperial Highness Princess Ashraf who, as President of the Women's Organisation of Iran and Deputy President of the Imperial Organisation for Social Services and the Iranian Committee for the Worldwide drive against illiteracy has done much towards securing maximum rights for the individual.

In recognition of her services in the field of human rights Princess Ashraf has twice been elected as president of major human rights meetings in recent years first at the International Conference on Human Rights held in Tehran in 1968 and later at the 26th session of the U.N. Human Rights Committee held in 1970.

The Iranian Human Rights Committee, which is composed of a Secretary General and 15 members is engaged in two types of work (a) direct action in the field and (b) study and research leading to the drafting of recommendations to the government.

Main projects in the field have been the construction of a Human Rights Village and the construction of 32 schools in different parts of the country. The village, which has been built near the city of Ahwaz, in Khuzistan, in a region badly hit by floods in 1969, contains 72 housing units, a bath, store, primary school and village hall and has its own water and electricity supply.

Of the 32 schools 19 have been built in other flood stricken areas, this time in the north west province of Azarbaijan. Ten other primary schools have been built in West Azarbaijan and two more in Khorasan in the north east of the country. The first Human Rights secondary school is being constructed on United Nations Street in Tabriz, Azarbaijan, and several more are planned for the future. The results of the second part of the Committee's work

—study and research—are less tangible but will be of far greater importance ultimately. Teams of researchers are engaged in a careful study of Iranian legislation as far as it affects human rights while others are being sent throughout the country to see how the laws are enforced and to investigate reported violations of human rights. On the basis of these surveys recommendations are made to the government regarding ways in which laws and their implementation can be improved. Emphasis is being placed on family relations and the rights of family members viz-a-viz each other and a special family relations sub-committee has been formed to study the subject. Through its campaigning on a number of rights issues the Committee has been successful in influencing legislation, as in a recent case where its recommendation led to the abolition of a law under which a person could be imprisoned for debts.

Another important task of the committee has been the promotion of public awareness of the principles of human rights. This has been done through radio broadcasts, seminars, conferences, study courses and the publication of various books, pamphlets and a quarterly bulletin. Thousands of copies of the International Declaration on Human Rights have been distributed among schoolchildren, workers and farmers all over the country and two books have been published. The first, a book in English entitled "Iran and Human Rights" was brought out on the occasion of the International Conference in Tehran in 1968. The second, a book in Persian on "The Iranian Human Rights Committee" was published just before the 1970 session of the UN Human Rights Committee. The quarterly bulletin features articles on the latest developments concerning human rights both in Iran and in other countries as well as the translated texts of international human rights documents. The quarterly is used by a great many people, particularly university students.

A large popular audience is also reached through a monthly programme on human rights broadcast by Radio Iran. The programme includes human interest stories, information on specific rights, such as equal pay for equal work, and advice to listeners on the best way to secure their rights.

As one of the first national human rights committees to be established, the Iranian Committee and its work are of great interest to rights workers in other countries. Iran in turn follows international human rights activities closely and is a keen participant at international conferences, particularly the UN Human Rights Committee of which the Iranian government is a member. The Iranian Committee has established relations with many other human rights organisations round the world such as the International Institute of Human Rights (the Rene Cassin Foundation).

Dawning of a new era for Iranian women

When His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah launched his White Revolution reform programme in 1963 a new era dawned for the women of Iran. Given new freedom under the reforms, Iranian women were not only given an opportunity to play an active part in the progress of the nation but were told they had to. His Imperial Majesty pointed out in an address to a large crowd of jubilant women that while women had been granted certain rights for the first time, including the right to vote, they had also taken on new obligations; they must prove themselves worthy of their new status by working hard.

After a period of reorganisation of existing women's societies, of which there were many, a central Women's Organisation of Iran was set up in 1966 under the leadership of Her Imperial Highness Princess Ashraf to channel women's energies in the most useful directions. The Statute of the WOI, as finally approved in 1968, lay down four major aims for the Organisation.

- 1) The achievement of a higher status for women in social, economic and cultural fields and the promotion of a new awareness of women's rights and duties.
- 2) The rendering of assistance to Iranian women to help them fulfill their social obligations in particular their important duties as wives and mothers.
- 3) The coordination of women's activities in economic and social fields and the drawing up of plans for women's contributions to the war against illiteracy and other educational and cultural activities.
- 4) The establishment of relationships between the women of Iran and the women of other countries to promote international solidarity among women.

The Women's Organisation of Iran has three types of members; individual members, affiliated associations and honorary members. The regular individual members, who now number over 15,000 in 197 branches throughout the country are women who have reached the age of 18, are Iranian citizens, enjoy a good reputation and have been elected by the Organisation as members. Affiliated associations are eligible societies which fulfill certain

requirements and are engaged in work which will further the aims set by the WOI; and honorary members are people who have performed some outstanding service to the WOI or to the women's movement in general.

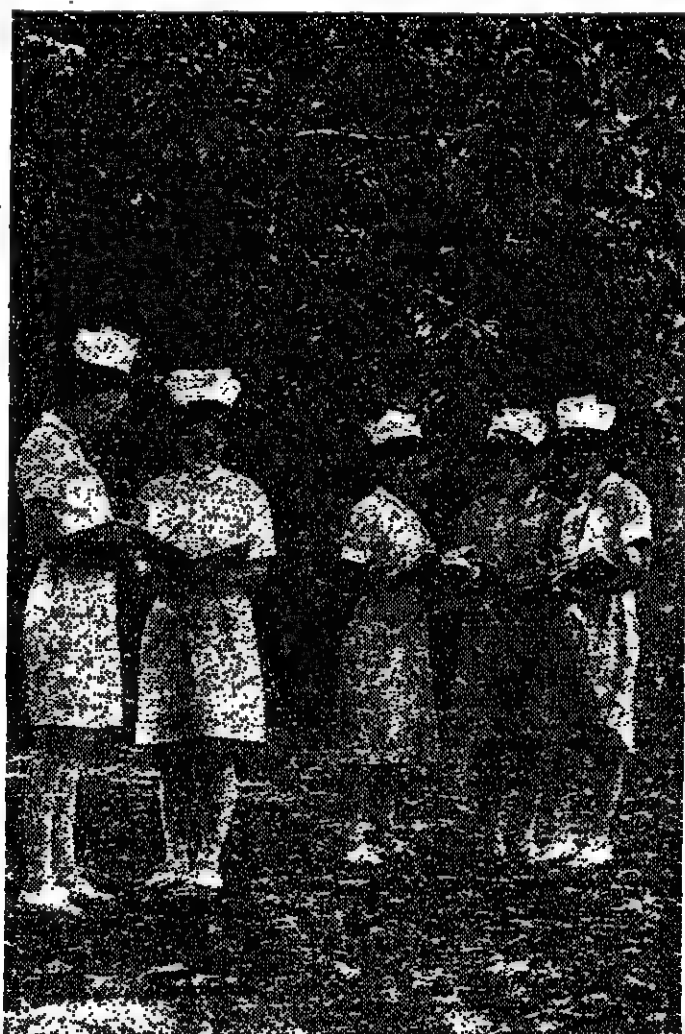
WOI activities are directed by an executive consisting of three bodies, the General Assembly, the Central Council and the General Secretariat. The General Assembly is composed of representatives of the WOI branches and of the representatives of affiliated associations and meets once a year to decide on general policy. The Central Council is composed of eleven members, six of whom are chosen by the Supreme President, Princess Ashraf, and five elected by the General Assembly. The Council's functions include approval of the budget and the administrative organisation and study and approval of the WOI codes and regulations. The Secretariat, which is the permanent working body of the WOI is headed by a Secretary General and a number of full-time staff needed for the implementation of the Organisation's programmes.

The programmes for the participation of women in the White Revolution are drawn up on the basis of research undertaken by nine working committees of the WOI; the Legal Committee, the Educational Committee, the Family Health and Welfare Committee, the Working Women's Committee, the International Affairs Committee, the Arts and Culture Committee, the Societies and Memberships Committee, the Girl Students' Committee and the Public Relations and Publications Committee.

The members of these committees include social scientists, teachers, university professors and other highly qualified people, some of whom are men. In planning the important thing is experience and competence, not sex.

Directed by the programmes drawn up by these committees women all over Iran are engaged in teaching illiterates, organizing arts and crafts classes in rural areas, giving legal advice and family planning counselling and looking after children.

These activities are largely carried out at 68 welfare and community centres established by the WOI in



As the women's movement grows more and more Iranian girls are taking up careers like these nurses at the Princess Ashraf School of Nursing.

different parts of the country. The centres perform four major functions.

- 1) Education. Classes are held on a variety of subjects from simple reading and writing to public health and nutrition. Particular emphasis is placed on vocational training to help women earn a living through some special skill. Nursing, sewing, and various handicrafts are taught on a wide scale.
- 2) Family planning. The WOI centres give counselling on birth control techniques and distribute free pills and IUDs. The WOI works closely with the public health services in this.
- 3) Care of children. The centres run nurseries and day care kindergartens for the children of working mothers.
- 4) Legal aid. WOI counsellors give advice on women's rights in relation to marriage, divorce, child custody and working conditions and help women with problems in these directions.

Teachers and social workers, health experts and legal advisors working at the 68 WOI centres are given training at one of two colleges run by the Organisation; one a college for the training of family advisors, the other a school for teachers and social workers. The graduates of these special courses in turn organise classes in the villages for the training of local women as teachers and advisors. The result is a snowball effect, with more and more women being gradually pulled into the network.

Meanwhile at WOI headquarters in Tehran more theoretical work is done. Study groups are constantly engaged in evaluation of WOI policy and in drafting new programmes for the future. A special research group studies Iranian legislation as it affects women's rights and campaigns for changes wherever the law falls below the ideal. Many of the recent amendments to the laws governing division of property and child custody after divorce are the outcome of WOI campaigning.

Another WOI committee is engaged in publications and public relations. It has published a series of handbooks for women advising them of their rights.

Through participation in international conferences and seminars and exchanges with women's groups in other countries the WOI shares its experiences with fellow women throughout the world. The Organisation is a member of the International Council of Women, the International Alliance of Women and the Associated Countrywomen of the World. It is also a firm supporter of the U.N. Committee on the Status of Women.

War on Ignorance

The work of the Iranian Committee for the Worldwide Campaign Against Illiteracy

In the early 1960s one of the biggest obstacles to progress in Iran was widespread illiteracy. Nearly eight million Iranians between the ages of 10 and 45 could neither read nor write.

One of the key features of the bold, imaginative reform programme launched by the Shahanshah in 1963 was the formation of a Literacy Corps, an "Army of Knowledge" that would sweep through the countryside teaching the people. Over 150,000 young men and women have served in this Corps since it was established.

The idea fired the imagination of leaders and educators round the world. On September 8th, 1963, the education ministers of 86 countries, representatives of 19 United Nations-affiliated organisations and delegates from the Vatican gathered in Tehran to show their support for Iran's efforts to wipe out illiteracy. UNESCO subsequently named the day "International Campaign Against Illiteracy Day" and a new world movement was launched. In Iran the Shahanshah ordered the establishment of an Iranian Committee for the Worldwide Campaign Against Illiteracy. The Monarch himself accepted Presidency of the committee and his sister, Her Imperial Highness Princess Ashraf, was made Deputy President.

The committee's aims are two-fold; to use all power and resources, whether human or financial, to combat illiteracy in Iran; and through its experiences at home to help in international campaigns of a similar nature.

The first two years of the Committee's activities were devoted to the operation of pilot projects and the careful evaluation of the results of these. Trial education programmes were organised in Qazvin, Shiraz, Tehran and the oil regions in south Iran and teams of education experts appointed by a special Study, Research and Statistics Centre were sent to observe the classes and test the students who completed the courses.

The primary consideration of the Committee in these

early stages was to develop the kind of course which would achieve literacy in the widest sense. The Committee was aiming for something more than instruction in the mechanical ability to decipher strings of words and reproduce them. It demanded that successful students be able to understand what they read, to express their own thoughts in simple sentences easily understandable to others and to be able to use this new facility to broaden and improve their lives.

In addition to the 33 text books which it designed and published the committee also launched a weekly newspaper for new literates. An eight page paper entitled "New Days" it started with a circulation of 15,000. Today it is printed in more than 150,000 copies and widely read by workers and farmers who obtain copies through Rural Cultural Houses, Rural Cooperatives and schools. 30,000 of its subscribers are people who have just learnt to read.

Having achieved such success with its basic literacy programme the Committee has developed its activities further, designing special education courses for other organisations to implement. Some of these continuous adult education programmes are being run by the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, the Ministry of Cooperatives and Rural Affairs, the Imperial Iranian Armed Forces and the Women's Organisation of Iran.

This year the Committee has undertaken an important new project, the establishment of a National Adult Education Centre, which will develop a combined educational and vocational programme, specially designed to meet the nation's particular needs for skilled workers and craftsmen.

His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah and Princess Ashraf keep in close touch with the activities of the committee and regular progress reports are submitted to them. After two years of experiments the Committee finally

approved the syllabus and method of teaching that best achieved this end and classes were set up throughout the country. Today hundreds of thousands of new literates who have graduated from these classes have been enabled to take up new jobs and accept greater responsibility in society. Many went on from the literacy classes to ordinary schools and have successfully passed elementary and high school examinations.

The first class was opened in February 1965. Within 4 years 600,000 people had completed two six-month courses run by the Committee while more than a million others had completed introductory courses which enabled them to read and write and do simple arithmetic.

The Committee constantly reappraises its educational programme to assess the effectiveness of its curriculum. Text books for students and teaching guides for instructors are constantly upgraded and modified to suit the various population groups covered by the literacy programme.

Methods of teaching and the books used in the literacy classes differ considerably from those employed in ordinary schools. Because the literacy course is of necessity a concentrated one progressing more rapidly from one stage of learning to another and leaving out much of the supplementary lessons given to schoolchildren special methods of teaching and special books had to be prepared. Much of the Committee work therefore consists of the training of teachers and the preparation of teaching material.

The basis of study on the course is a series of books entitled "Let's Read and Write", "Let's Read and Become Literate", "Let's Read and Live Better" and "Let's Read and Speak Better" which progress from the alphabet and elementary reading and writing to the use of texts introducing general knowledge and moral values aimed at helping students to lead a more useful life and at encouraging them to take an interest in further reading and study.

hundreds of farm workers have learnt to read and write evening classes run by the National Committee for the Worldwide Campaign Against Illiteracy.



Article XXI

(1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.
(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections, which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Even in the West governments represent biggest threat to freedom of expression

by Michael Scammell

Most societies and most political systems claim either to have established freedom of expression or else to be moving towards it, maintaining simultaneously that their press is independent. In the United States, for instance, the right to freedom of expression is embodied in the First Amendment to the constitution, while Soviet Russia's constitution, which has served as a model for most other communist constitutions, also guarantees its citizens freedom of expression.

The words are the same, but clearly they mean different things in different places, and the problem can be resolved only by reference to John Stuart Mill's classic distinction between "freedom from" and "freedom to".

In the United States the press is guaranteed "freedom from" government interference and is expected to behave as a "fourth estate"; but in Soviet usage the press is in no sense free from government control (though it might perhaps be said to be free from "bourgeois control", but is held to be "free to" advance the interests of the proletariat—as interpreted by the Soviet Communist Party. It is not free to advance anyone else's interests, however, nor the proletariat's interests as in-

terpreted by anyone other than the party leaders.

In general the press and radio and television in communist countries are regarded primarily as sources of power and only secondarily as providers of information. For this reason they are assigned flatteringly important positions in the social hierarchy, while agitation and propaganda ("agitprop") are given a high priority. In exchange for the privileges this brings they are expected to submit to rigid control by the government.

It would be a mistake, however, to overlook the differences that do exist between the various communist countries, or the fact that within each country the media are usually in a transitional state, moving either towards or away from relatively greater freedom of expression. True, the limits within which this movement takes place are usually narrow (the variations between the countries being defined by the placing of the limits), but there are considerable differences between the guardedly "free" (and officially "unbiased") press of Poland today and that of neighbouring Czechoslovakia or East Germany.

Similarly, the Soviet press under Khrushchev was somewhat freer than it is now, while Yugoslavia, from the

early sixties until two years ago, was a model of what can be achieved by a Marxist government.

In the recent controversy over the eight Belgrade philosophers whom the League of Communists wanted to remove from their university posts, some prominent European socialists even referred to "Marxist freedom of expression" in their appeals to President Tito.

However, what happens when the press in a communist country too obviously exceeds the limits laid down for it was vividly illustrated by the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968, after the press had played a leading role in the democratization of the country. Meanwhile it is still the dark ages for press freedom in Romania, Bulgaria and Albania (in Europe), for all the communist countries of Asia, including China (which even seems to be travelling backwards, if that is possible), and, after a brave experimental start, for Cuba in the western hemisphere.

It might seem from this as if press freedom had something to do with ideology and was linked to the old opposition between communism and capitalism, and it is true that Lenin provided a persuasive ideological rationale for control of the press. But the picture is immensely more complicated than that. Iran calls itself capitalist and is an aggressive advocate

of free enterprise economics, yet it possesses one of the most tightly controlled and rigidly censored presses. Brazil holds itself out as a model of capitalist development for the whole of Latin America, yet press censorship is an openly acknowledged tool of the government and sets an entirely different kind of pace for the rest of the continent.

Spain, Greece, Turkey and, until recently, Portugal, are all capitalist states in which the press has been tightly controlled, while the leading "free world" states of South Korea, South Vietnam and Taiwan do not differ greatly from their communist opposite numbers in their attitude to censorship of the press. And if we look at Chile, the Marxist Allende would appear to have been a far greater devotee of press freedom than his capitalist successor, General Pinochet.

It is plain, therefore, that we must look elsewhere for the key to freedom of expression, and I would suggest that the true distinction must be sought in terms of economic and political pluralism. True freedom of expression flourishes in relatively restricted areas of the globe and is usually to be found (no great surprise, this) in parliamentary democracies—in most of West Europe, in North America, in the former British dominions of

India, Australia and New Zealand, and in Japan.

The outstanding omission here is South Africa, where freedom of the press is virtually non-existent for blacks, and for whites is seriously curtailed (and is threatened with further curtailment after Mr Vorster's election victory). Even here, however, the outcome of the struggle is not a foregone conclusion; and indeed, a great question mark hangs over almost the whole of Africa, where ex-colonial countries are struggling to reconcile the imported institutions of their former conquerors with older traditions.

Similar problems beset most of South-East Asia and Central and Latin America, and these are the battlegrounds on which the struggle for press freedom is being fought. Again it is those states that have established, or preserved, a pluralist political order that have been most successful in defending freedom of expression.

Generalizations of this kind force one to paint in broad strokes, and most of the qualifying detail has to be omitted. One complicating factor that cannot be side-stopped, however, is the problem of finance. Newspapers (not to speak of television programmes) are expensive things to produce, and as the necessary technology becomes more complex so does

the demand grow for ever larger amounts of capital.

In developing countries, the number of people or institutions with the necessary means is strictly limited, and the usual sources of finance can be boiled down to three categories: political parties, wealthy individuals or groups of individuals, and foreign capital—particularly from Western European or American communications groups.

The presence of all three in a country is usually a sign of health, but all three have their problems. Political parties, particularly if they attain power, have a tendency to sweep up their rivals when conditions are ripe (as in Zambia or Tanzania) and put both them and their newspapers out of business.

Wealthy individuals with both the means and the desire to invest in the press are few and far between, and they tend to be absorbed into the political establishment. Foreign-owned newspapers or agencies, although often bringing with them valuable technical expertise and professional staff, are always vulnerable to the charge of serving foreign interests and frequently (for example in Argentina) fall foul of nationalist passions.

Another difficulty is that even a pluralist press is open to the charge of control by a narrowly defined, self-perpetuating oligarchy whose members' interests are identical, so that apparent diversity

is only a sham. This charge is a potent weapon in the hands of politicians with demagogic talents, and has been used with particular effect by the governments of Ceylon and Singapore. It is frequently heard too in relation to the "free" press of the parliamentary democracies; and while the details of such charges are often widely exaggerated, concentration of ownership represents one of the biggest potential dangers to freedom of expression throughout the western world.

Nevertheless, here as elsewhere, it is governments that represent the biggest threat to freedom of the press, and in most parts of the world there is little or no distinction between them. But in the western world the distinction is significant, for in most countries the television services come under the direct control of the government.

The reasons for this are complex. They have something to do with the problems of finance. There is also the question of monopolies, for most television services are either complete or quasi-monopolies, and in most parliamentary states commercial monopolies are outlawed. But above all it has to do with power.

Television is universally

recognized to be the most influential and powerful medium of communication yet invented, and as such is held to be too potent an instrument to be allowed out of the control of government. In this respect, although the analogy cannot be taken too far, television, in relation to the political power, stands roughly where newspapers stood two centuries ago.

It may be objected that this is a simplification of the complex arrangements for television that have been worked out in various countries, and indeed it is. In the United States, for instance, and in a number of United States satellites in Latin America and Asia, commercial networks exist apparently independently of the government's control.

But if one examines the licensing arrangements involved, it is quickly apparent that in principle the system bears a strong kinship with the licensing of newspapers in England up to the end of the seventeenth century, and their freedom is the freedom to make money, rather than political or religious propaganda.

Similarly, the BBC in Britain is regarded as being even more politically independent than the American networks. Yet one only has to turn to the networks broadcasting programmes of communist propaganda, or urging the population to convert to Roman Catholicism, to realise how remote television is from

the sort of freedom now for granted by the world.

So what, if any, future for free speech three quarters of the globe? The problem is in the struggle for a whole range of political freedoms and not readily be separated from them.

In communist countries the dictatorship, proletarian will, wither, add field to a diversity of political and economic power, bringing freedom of expression with it, or will institutionalise ethnic unity and remove desires for that freedom. The parliamentary democracies, either the present ones will be refined adapted to meet the new technological and economic changes, or else a loss of vision will lead to the temptations of authoritarianism.

As for the Third World, they will follow the path that seem most successful from among the two. And if it is objected that is too Eurocentric, too parliamentary a view, one can only say that freedom of expression is a parliamentary concept. The Declaration of Human Rights, the only particular in European history.

The author is the editor of Index on Censorship.

International law has scarcely come to terms with mass papers—much less broadcasting

by Cedric Thornberry

Voltaire's dictum, "I detest what you say, but will fight to the death for your right to say it", expresses a metaphysical faith in humanity, reason and aspiration. It is not always clear today how such a concept, protecting the dissident pamphleteer, can be adapted to press and television.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights sustains the standard. For Western Europe, article 10 of the Human Rights Convention contains a detailed provision. It guarantees the right to freedom of expression, which right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers.

The licensing of radio, television and cinemas is permitted, however, and the right made subject to various

limitations. These include restrictions necessary for national security, the protection of order or crime, the protection of health, morals, the reputation or rights of others, the prevention of disclosure of information received in confidence, and for maintaining the dignity and impartiality of the judiciary. To justify a restriction, a government must show that it is reasonable.

Article 10 must also be read in conjunction with articles on the right to respect for private and family life, home and correspondence, and with the implications of the article guaranteeing a fair trial (no prior judgments by the press). It may also have to be read in association with articles on peaceful enjoyment of property (in the context of police search and seizure operations), and with more general articles on abuse of rights by individuals and of powers by governments.

Many deem freedom of expression the primordial right, even among basic rights, the hallmark of the open society. The United States Supreme Court has a vast and illuminating jurisprudence on the First Amendment (freedom of the press). It has emphasized that this amendment protects the pre-eminent right in democracy, the condition precedent to the enjoyment of all other rights.

In this context, it is paradoxical that proceedings in the European Human Rights Commission should themselves be held in camera. The reason is that governments would not have permitted the development of the commission on any other terms. Though explicable, the limitation might undermine the ideal itself.

Without an informed European opinion the jurisdiction of the commission could be brittle, easily destroyed at governmental displeasure.

Last autumn, when Britain's

continuation of the commission's jurisdiction seemed in doubt, the press came to play an important and distinguished role on behalf of the ordinary citizen.

In the United Nations International Conference on Freedom of Expression, the Commission on Human Rights, a sub-committee on freedom of information and the press was suppressed in 1952. Despite some admirable United Nations studies a draft convention has lain inoperative for many years.

It has been hard to reconcile different ideological standpoints on essentials. Some developing nations have been understandably, to view the concepts as disposable luxuries. Governments of all shades are prone to emphasize and extend the limitations rather than the freedoms. In general it has rested with non-governmental organizations to strive for more effective international standards, chiefly in the area of the mass media.

Law in Western Europe is attempting to resolve these conflicts, but the current British debate seems isolated from the international discussion. Activity has continued, however, in the Council of Europe. Progress has been slow. An imaginative conceived symposium on human rights and mass communications was held at Salzburg in 1968. Its report emphasizes the international dimension since the development of the mass media. International law has scarcely come to terms with the mass circulation newspaper, much less with the issues raised by broadcasting.

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When a case goes up to the court (so far only a dozen or so have reached that stage) there will again be a hearing followed by a decision which, unlike that of the commission, will be binding. The court may also award damages to an injured party, and, probably more importantly, may by its decision in effect call on the state to change those laws or conditions prevailing which led to the complaint being made. Some countries which have ratified the convention have not accepted the jurisdiction of the court, in which case the Committee of Ministers is the only possible final arbiter.

Unhappily there are no sanctions to back up a decision of the court or of the ministers. At that stage the issue becomes political rather than legal. In one case, Greece preferred to leave the Council of Europe rather than submit to decisions against it. Nevertheless, in all but its final stage, the protection of human rights under the convention is supervised by independent legal and judicial control without political considerations having any say.

The institutions created by the convention, for all the

ambitious procedures governing them, have proved to be of considerable practical effect and influence. Indeed, the only other major regional convention—encompassing most American countries in both hemispheres—has fed on the European example and drawn heavily on its experience.

The American Convention on Human Rights also provides a complaints procedure for citizens complaining of an infringement of their basic rights, based on the European pattern, and involving a commission and a court. The commission, however, has more to do than its European counterpart, for in addition to the adjudication of complaints it is required actively to promote human rights, by making recommendations to governments about their conduct and requesting them to report on their progress. The Permanent Arab Commission of Human Rights (an offshoot of the Arab League) is purely promotional rather than judicial, although a procedure for the settlement of complaints is envisaged eventually.

One of the few pre-United Nations organizations which

has proved effective in promoting the basic standing of the committee of experts' opinions, especially they disclose breaches by a state, are of great influence, and have often resulted in the Government making changes in its laws.

The ILO constitution also allows for the making of representations, and for a complaints procedure which could eventually involve investigation by a committee of inquiry and a reference to the International Court of Justice.

The European Social Charter (under the umbrella of the Council of Europe) guarantees 19 fundamental social and economic rights. It, too, uses a reporting procedure, whereby members of the council send a general report on state, they have taken to carry out their obligations under the charter.

This report is considered by three separate agencies which submit their comments to the committee of ministers which, if necessary, puts pressure on governments which have defaulted on their obligations to remedy their

breaches. The arch of the charter has almost all the main features of the European Convention on Human Rights, and is a valuable advance on more of the three.

For instance, on the forced labour for six countries have amended their legislation sort of experience repeated in other parts of the world.

Not only governments concern themselves human rights. A non-government body has been involved in a host of civil liberties of the world. Prominent among them is the International Commission of J. Geneva-based or, which numbers a number of counmission's main focus is to uphold of law is upheld and it closely watch developments all world, and it does publishes cases which nationally accept hand of justice have met.

Enormous influence of Universal Declaration not matched by successful UN action

by Marcel Berlins

The internationalization of human rights did not start with the United Nations Universal Declaration of 1948. But that document has dominated the human rights scene for the past 25 years. With few exceptions agencies today concerned with the protection of rights on a regional or world front base their own principles on it.

In some cases the wording is followed almost verbatim. Other organizations have adapted the principles to conditions governing the area they serve, or have extended, or sub-divided them. But the source remains the same.

The enormous influence which the words of the Universal Declaration have had has not been matched by the world body to see that they are adhered to. The declaration was supposed to be the first step in the creation of an international machinery for the protection of human rights. It was not designed to be binding.

The second step involved drawing up covenants, which would impose legal obligations on signatory states; the third stage was to be the establishment of a machinery for enforcement.

In 1966, two covenants were agreed on by the General Assembly (a single one having proved impractical): the first on economic, social and cultural rights, the other on civil and political rights. But these covenants have not yet come into force because the necessary minimum of 35 ratifications from member states have not yet been received.

The machinery for implementation provided for a system obliging states to report regularly what they had done to carry out their responsibilities under the covenants to a human rights committee, which in turn could eventually have the matter raised before the General Assembly. This procedure has not yet come into operation, but it would not amount to anything like satisfactory legal control over a member state's behaviour.

The ultimate decision on action to be taken against a defaulting state would have to be taken in a political or a judicial forum. The same is true of the various United Nations commissions dealing with particular aspects of human rights.

The European Convention on Human Rights is the most successful of the many offspring of the Universal Declaration's offspring. Drawn up under the aegis of the Council of Europe, it came into force in 1953 and has now been ratified by almost all the members of the council. It states that its purpose is "to take the first steps for the collective enforcement of certain of the rights stated in the Universal Declaration".

In addition to the main convention five protocols have come into operation, two of them committing states ratifying them to guarantee further rights not included in the original convention. The convention provides for an elaborate machinery of enforcement, the most important aspect of which is the establishment of a Court and a Commission of Human Rights, which sit in Strasbourg, to ensure the observance of states' obligations towards its citizens. The striking and original feature of the convention is that it allows individuals (as well as states and organizations) to petition the commission with allegations of a breach by their

government of its obligations under the convention. The commission, which consists of many members as there are countries subject to the convention, finds the complaint to be initially admissible (most are not), it embarks on a complicated procedure of finding out the facts. This may involve a hearing in which the complainant and the state against which the allegation is made are represented.

It is also concerned to try to effect a friendly settlement between the parties. If this fails, the commission prepares a report, which contains its decision on whether or not a breach of the convention has occurred. The report goes to the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe and to the state involved. Either the case may be then referred to the European Court of Human Rights, by the commission or the state, or the final decision can be left to the Committee of Ministers which could then, if it confirms that violations have occurred, put pressure on the culpable state to take appropriate remedying action.

When a case goes up to the court (so far only a dozen or so have reached that stage) there will again be a hearing followed by a decision which, unlike that of the commission, will be binding. The court may also award damages to an injured party, and, probably more importantly, may by its decision in effect call on the state to change those laws or conditions prevailing which led to the complaint being made. Some countries which have ratified the convention have not accepted the jurisdiction of the court, in which case the Committee of Ministers is the only possible final arbiter.

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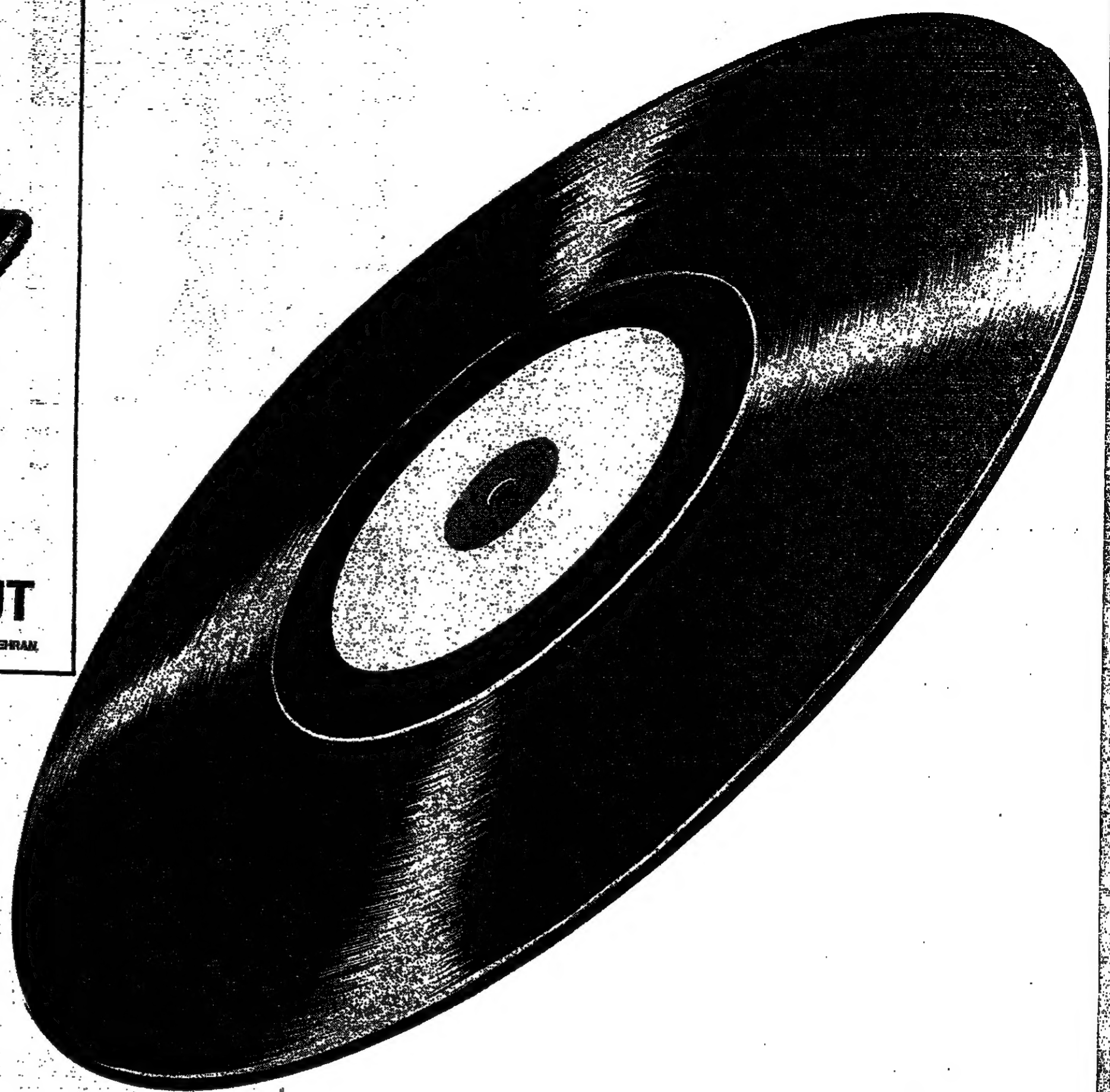
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ADVERTISING IN ACTION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

On the occasion of the International Advertising Association's 24th World Congress in Tehran, May 23 - 25, with the theme "Communications in the Service of Human Rights", the IAA Iran Chapter wishes in practice to live up to this theme. Thus, an extensive advertising campaign is being launched to raise funds for helping those suffering from famine or disease. Elsewhere in this issue, two of the posters of this campaign are shown.

The funds collected will be channelled into a blocked account (number 79997) in Bank Melli Iran (National Bank of Iran), from where contributions will be passed on via the United Nations to help alleviate those suffering.

A special piece of music has been composed and a poem written to mark the occasion of the above-mentioned Congress. The well-known Iranian composer and conductor, Mr. Ali Rahbari, has been inspired in his creation by the theme of the Congress. The Congress Song has been recorded by the Vienna Radio and Television Symphony Orchestra together with the Choral Group of the Ministry of Culture and Art of Iran and two famous Iranian singers.

This recording will be put on sale on the Congress Site and simultaneously in a large number of stores throughout Iran. The poem will be translated into other languages and the recording will soon be on sale in other countries also.

The proceeds of the sales of this recording - on which there will be no maximum price - will be deposited into the above-mentioned account.

Should anybody wish to contribute to this cause, donations may be sent directly to the Bank Melli Iran marked "Advertising in Action for Human Rights", and the IAA Iran Chapter will be happy to acknowledge such contributions by sending the donors a recording.

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to Bank Melli Iran, Avenue Ferdowsi (Central Office), Tehran, Iran, made out to the order of "Advertising in Action for Human Rights", Account Number 79997. I understand that a recording of the Congress Song will be sent to me.

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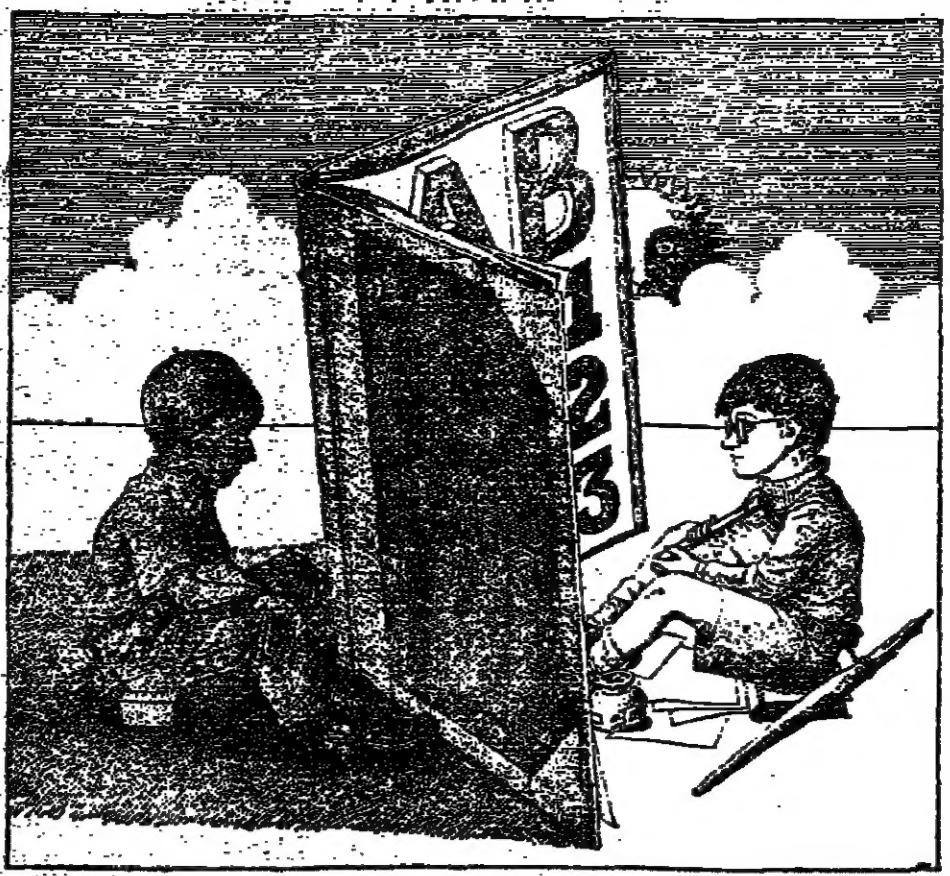
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Article XXVI
(1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Worldwide perspective unites teachers of the new discipline despite their discord

Eric Thornberry
The birth of international human rights law may, rather than being given as 1945, the United Nations Charter. Twenty years ago, before the new came to be systematic, taught and studied in the world. It has now almost an academic industry, but there is uncertainty over the of the new field of and the most effective of analysis and production.
In the 1960s there was an almost simultaneous start to national human rights in a handful of laws in the United States, and Western Europe. Human rights were taught in law schools, and in the art of other legal and social science subjects. But became increasingly evident that the special character of international human rights law precluded the possibility of treating it in any one manner within the academic structures. There are three reasons for it cannot be given as part of an internal course, its framework is international. It cannot be treated as a part of general international law because the perspectives and values are different from, and at times

Through their intellectual achievements, many remain unimpressed, the development of hard political and legal substance lagged behind their vision. This was especially true of the universal level, at the United Nations where work was in many ways disappointing. However, during the 1950s there were remarkable developments in the Council of Europe through the European Human Rights Convention. By the end of the 1950s a large body of international law had been created and accepted. There were signs, during the Human Rights Year in 1968, 20 years after the promulgation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that the older aspirations were being refreshed by new political initiatives.
For instance, there were signs that the United Nations Human Rights Commission, an adjunct of the Economic and Social Council, was to be followed by governments to take part of its mandate more seriously, by examining the complaints of those denied their basic human rights throughout the world. Specialists began to lay emphasis on making internationally agreed standards effective. The Scandinavian governments launched their unprecedented international human rights cases against the Greek military junta before the European Human Rights Commission in Strasbourg. This case, which from some viewpoints also represented an unprecedented failure of the new machinery, inaugurated the new and still unfolding era in which the commission has been presented with a series of cases touching upon basic issues of state rights and human freedoms.
Finally, an event of great national and European importance, Britain at last accepted the right of individual petition to Strasbourg. Henceforth, the aggrieved citizen could have his claim of denial of human rights decided not by a British but ultimately by a European and international standard.
For myself, associated with these new developments in Britain, the catalytic experience were part British and part international. Questions of race, Northern Ireland, and other questions in the late 1960s, seemed to invite citizens to debate and the application of fresh standards — standards which might be more satisfactory than those then available in Britain.
A newspaper correspondent wrote at one time, "The courts operate must continue

Greece, and as a participant in the subsequent Strasbourg cases in Strasbourg. I had been sharply reawakened to the need for the existing international machinery. Above all I was aware of the vast problems of making that machinery effective. Major omissions in the traditional academic treatment of international law and relations had become apparent, and these underlined a number of possible misconceptions. For me, the Lauterpacht aura, so strong at Cambridge in the 1950s, was still strong.
There is still discord among teachers of the new discipline. The various courses have varying emphases. This seems both useful and creative, provided there is agreement on certain basic premises. What gives unity is the international perspective.
The subject of study is the rudimentary common law of mankind in his relationship with state authority. The sources of such law are manifold: treaties, the case law of international tribunals, the practice of international organizations, the norms of philosophy, expediency and utility. Constitutional dogma and internal case laws are of some, though uncertain, value by way of analogy. The very different context in which domestic laws and courts operate must continually be borne in mind.
The danger, with such diffuse sources, is clear. Standards may be so vague, so imprecise, as to become mere generalities. Discussion, without an adequate frame of reference, may be so broad and unstructured as to verge upon self-indulgent beyond intellectual acceptability. Yet no law can be an instrument of mathematical certainty. Legal education must include the encouragement of discussion about possible court judgments in a national situation.
The amount of positive law now available to student, advocate, judge or academic, seeking to apply an international human rights standard is immense and can be overwhelming. In the area of these human rights which touch upon social rights, a tribunal could be almost engulfed.
It might be referred, not only to more than 130 multilateral treaties concluded under the International Labour Organization, together with that body's practice and dispute settlement; but to more than 6,000 cases decided over the past 20 years by the European Human Rights Commission. Not to mention the decisions of national tribunals purporting to apply the European Convention; to the treaties and practice of the United Nations and its various agencies; and to the work of the supervisory authorities applying the European Social Charter.
Only then might the international tribunal refer to decisions of domestic agencies enforcing, against national perspectives, internal laws. The immensity of international human rights law material is probably not even now known to the majority of international lawyers, not to mention those whose legal specializations are internal. Indeed international human rights law may already have passed the critical point which long since prevented the international lawyer from having other than a nodding acquaintance with some areas of the subject.
International human rights law is about the values, deemed common among the cultures and ideologies of the world, affecting the relationship between individual and state. There is room for scepticism over the notion that in a world deeply divided by politics, race and underdevelopment, such common values may be found. Yet against this scepticism must be set such facts as the two United Nations covenants of 1966.
They establish a universal catalogue of basic civil and political, economic, social and cultural rights. Neither is yet in force. Britain has not ratified either. But the study of this subject encourages the long view of history as well as the perception of short-term gains. Did not the crudest form of chattel-slavery surely the most blatant denial of human rights, prevail in all areas of the world for millennia, until the relative yesterday of abolition?
Common, limited agreement is possible. But cultural differences are also real. Communist and developing nations may see other priorities than the lawyers of liberal capitalism. Neither should dismiss the other's standpoint. Yet one of the most difficult exercises for the teacher steeped in one society's values is to present those of another which may be quite alien. But if the discipline is to have any pretension to universality, the attempt must be made. Because the differences exist there is a marked tendency towards regionalism among countries of close cultural backgrounds.
Thus, most European courses, after dealing with the historical origins of the subject, and emphasizing the diversity of its ideological

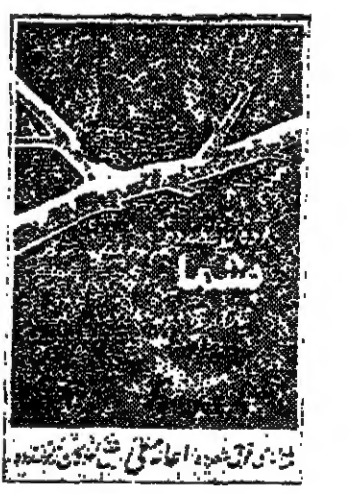
60 members of the International Advertising Association, meeting this week at a congress in Teheran, will discuss the role played by communications in the promotion of human rights. Below, Paul J. Fabricius explains why the IAA has chosen this theme; and Princess Ashraf, twin sister of the Shah and patron of the congress, answers questions on her country's human rights policy and record

Professional use of communications can further other than commercial causes

people may feel that to ask in fact, some already done so why IAA chose such an theme — seemingly from those who work in the various Madison Avenue agencies — is a number of valid reasons. But it is enough to say that there are too many congresses in the world. The IAA world president, Dr. Göran Tunström (Sweden), at the congress, playing variations on this theme. Delegates from all continents and of many races will play their part not only by speaking up during sessions, but also by carrying the message home and living up to it afterwards.
Advertising is changing, particularly in the "industrialized" countries, not only because it is addressing an even better educated, more sophisticated and therefore more critical audience. It is also because, to an ever increasing extent, advertising is becoming a social as well as a local — one joining the ranks of the advertisers. With a few exceptions, they are generally not doing it very well, not relying sufficiently on the professionals.
These points will emerge from some of the sessions of the congress. However, the

best way to illustrate what the congress aims to achieve may be to list the sessions and to comment briefly on each.
The opening address will be given by Princess Ashraf. After this the Iranian Prime Minister will address the congress, followed by IAA world president, Dr. Göran Tunström (Sweden). At this point the opening ceremony will be over. Mr. A. J. Hollander (United States), chairman of the IAA board, will talk about the role of the IAA in today's marketing scene.
Main speaker at the first session will be Professor John McHale (State University of New York) on "the transnational world". Unless we adjust and adapt ourselves to interdependence, he will argue, the human rights will be severely impaired. To bring about a wider and fuller understanding of this issue, mass communications will have to be globally harnessed and strategic co-ordinating action for human rights is the title of the second session, which will be devoted to the presentation of two case histories: an American campaign to make foreign "guest" workers more popular, and a French campaign to help physically handicapped workers feel less handicapped. This will be an important demonstration of how creative talent, coupled with knowledge of the facts and understanding, can be employed to help overcome particular human problems.
Concurrent with the congress will be an exhibition of advertising campaigns in action for human rights — campaigns sent from many different countries, using different media, sponsored or initiated by the United Nations, by governments or by private enterprise. A jury will have the difficult task of selecting one campaign to be awarded a prize given by the IAA. The exhibition will be a public service — now to be awarded for the third time. After the congress this exhibition may be sent round to other countries.
Lord Aylesworth, chairman of Britain's Independent Television Authority, will address the third session on transnational mass media. There are voluntary and legal restrictions on advertising, but there are none on the kind of communications spread officially via transnational media. Freedom of speech is a human right, but when it is used to harm others, certain limitations — preferably of a voluntary nature — may have to be

considered: freedom entails responsibility.
In the afternoon Professor Hollander-Hausen (Norway), followed by a panel, will discuss communications as a two-way traffic. It is also a human right to be heard: jointly and on the basis of a common purpose — the responsible use of mass communication in the service of commerce, industry, the public sector or human rights.
The last meeting before the closing session will be devoted to the global challenge of protecting resources and the environment. An American, an Italian and a Japanese will discuss this topical and vital problem, the responsibility for which does not rest only with governments or with industry. The onus is on each and every individual citizen in every country: human duties as well as human rights. This is largely a problem of communications. How can advertising help?
From what has been said it should be apparent that the congress will be different from the run of the



The author is head of the IAA advisory committee on programmes for world congresses and chapters.

White dropouts earn more than nonwhite high school graduates.

Give a damn.

Support the New York Urban Coalition.

Examples from three advertising campaigns that have won the public service awards presented annually by the Irish chapter of IAA: for seat belts in Britain (Young & Rubicam), earthquake relief in Iran (Faccop), and race relations in New York (Young & Rubicam Inc.).

Long-standing love and affection for humanity' is rooted deep in Iran's history

Times: Could Your as tell us what has been done in Iran over recent years to promote the same rights? You are, I am sure, aware that the of human rights is up of two categories. One is the civil and political rights, and the other is the economic, social and cultural rights. The first group of is the responsibility governments, and as their lack is noted and realized by the responsible authority. But the of the second requires economic ex- Iranian social revolution began in 1962 r its main aim of the social justice and revision of equal for all the people.

The recognition of women's political rights, the passage of the family protection law and the establishment of equity houses and arbitration councils for the spread of justice in both rural and urban Iran are among the steps taken to provide civil and political rights.
Other principles of the revolution, such as the nationalization of the woodlands and pastures, and water resources, helped to increase the national income and to bring about a more fundamental realization of socio-economic and cultural rights.
Could Your Highness point to some of the major achievements realized in combating illiteracy?
Our campaign against illiteracy started with the establishment of the Literacy Corps. Young and educated

people, instead of spending their military service solely on learning the techniques of war, were given a short course of training and then sent to the rural areas to teach and advise how to read and write and to acquire other basic training. The response of these corpsmen received was unbelievable, and it helped the establishment of other corps, such as the Health Corps and the Revolution Corps.
The most interesting of these corps was the Girls Corps, which accepted the responsibility of educating people in villages and advising them on family planning. The revolution simply cannot cope at present with the number of applications it receives.
In 1964 the National Commission for the International Eradication of Illiteracy was formed, with the patronage of the Shahanshah. This committee, which started by opening classes all over the country, is now devoted to studying methods of teaching and preparing reading material for the newly educated.
The international campaign against illiteracy started in Teheran with the convening of the education ministers' congress, where the Shahanshah delivered an important message on the subject. The creation of the Muhammad Reza Pahlavi award and another award presented by the Soviet Union to encourage individual and organizational efforts in spreading education has drawn a great number of emigrants from all over the world.
Iran's recent successes in making full control of its energy resources and the increased income deriving from this has given us a better opportunity to spread education. The royal decree of February 20 this year made the first eight years of education completely free, and starting next September all expenses for this period of education will be paid by the Government.
The Monarch has also ordered the Government to meet all educational expenses after the first eight years for those who undertake to serve the country for a specified period. Vocational education will also be completely free. The idea is that no one should be denied the opportunity for educating himself because of poverty or other reasons.
Do Iran's actions for the promotion of human rights concern only Iran, or do they have an international side to them as well?

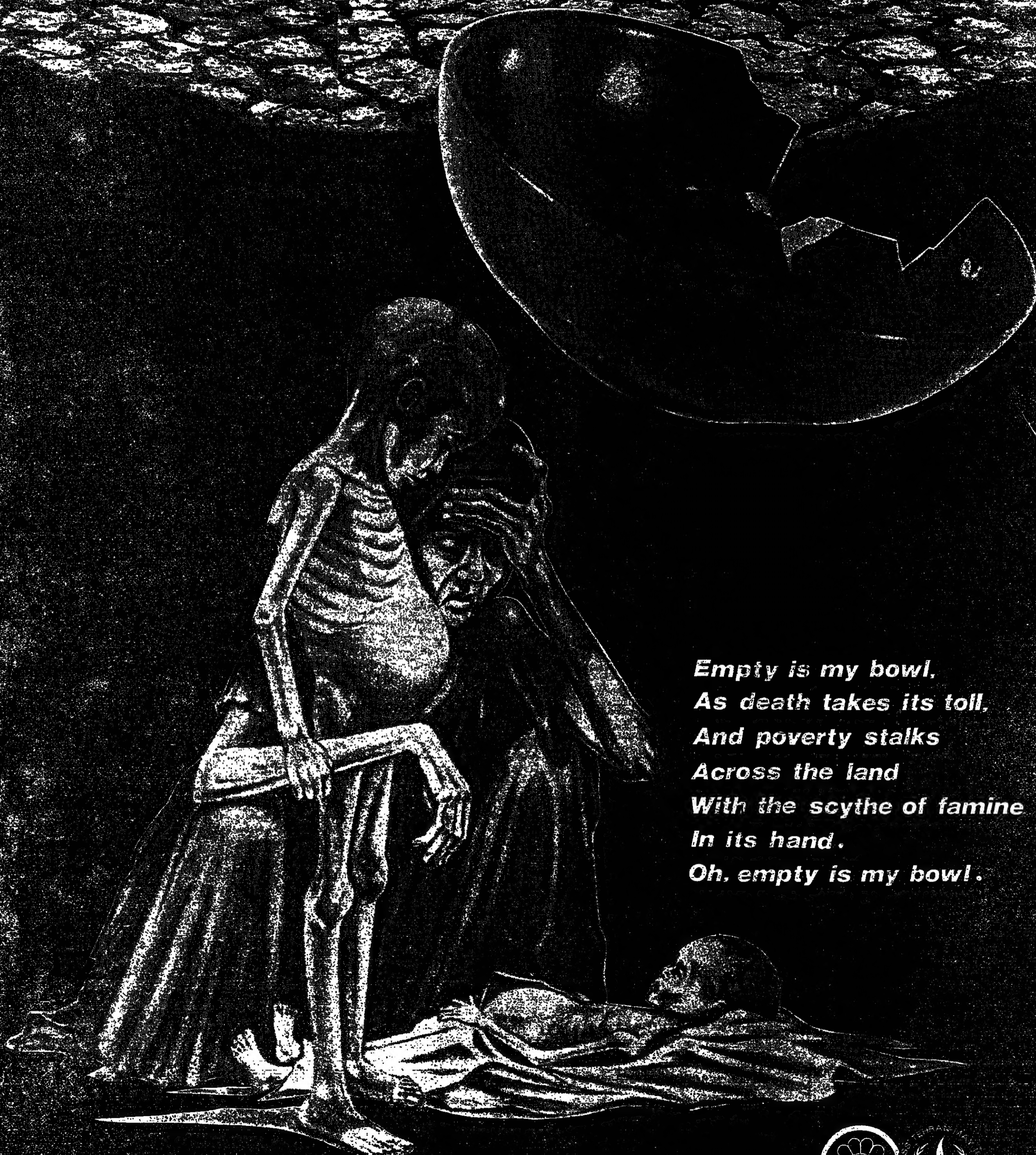


If only I'd worn my seat belt.

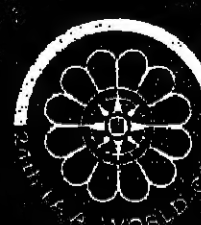
Princess Ashraf is a former chairman of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

جورج ابراهيم

MANY ARE HUNGRY TIME IS RUNNING OUT



*Empty is my bowl,
As death takes its toll,
And poverty stalks
Across the land
With the scythe of famine
In its hand.
Oh, empty is my bowl.*



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